HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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35¢

Dellinger & Co. Make Plans

A Second 'Chicago' on Inauguration Day?

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

David Dellinger, who led the obscene March on the Pentagon in October 1967, is coordinator of a New Left coalition with plans to mess up the Nixon Inaugural.

Meeting December 5 at the Holy Apostles Church, 300 9th Ave., New York City, Dellinger and his trouble-making cronies laid out a campaign of demonstrations that seems intended to surpass what they pulled off in Chicago at the Democratic convention.

They are bringing their own lawyers and doctors, and enlisting some here in Washington, to bail their shock troops out of jail and to patch up the wounded who fall under the expected counter-attack of the police, the National Guardsmen and the federal troops.

The New Left coalition includes the Yippies, the Students for a Democratic Society, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, the War Resistance League, staff members of the left-wing *Guardian* and at least one identified member of the Communist party.

Among the elite radicals in attendance at New York were Rennie Davis, Tom Hayden, Donald Kalish, Gene Gladstone, Sue Orrin, Norman Backer and about 100 others whose names are well known or should be—to Dr. Milton Eisenhower's National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence Those expected in Washington are described as "anti-Nixon blacks, labor unionists, McCarthy supporters [and] militants of the peace movement."

Originator of the mock-Inaugural idea seems to be Arthur Waskow, a delegate to the Chicago Democratic Convention, and now a resident-fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, which is subsidized by Ford Foundation tax-exempt funds. Waskow, a founding father along with Marcus Raskin of the so-called New party, is given credit by the Communist *Daily World* (successor to the *Worker*) for inventing the counter-Inauguration.

Festivities for the New Leftists open with a two-day conference on January 17-18. The next day, which is Sunday, the demonstrators are set to hold their own Inaugural Ball. Spokesmen for the coalition have mentioned "legal" demonstrations for the Sabbath, causing worried investigators here to surmise that weekday activities will be defiantly "illegal." Dellinger or his deputies have used the familiar code-words, such as "non-violence," and have employed the cryptic language, also familiar, about not "repudiating" actions that result from police brutality.

The Johnson Administration, of course, will be in command of the federal city until Richard Nixon takes the oath shortly after noon on January 20. This means that two of LBJ's appointees, Mayor Walter Washington and Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, along with Dr. Eisenhower, are in much the position that Chicago's Mayor Daley was—they have advanced warning of what to expect.

There is some precedent, however, for the Nixon-Agnew Administration to take de facto command prior to Inauguration. When a blizzard descended upon Washington the day before John Kennedy's swearing-in, the not-yet-in-office attorney general, Robert Kennedy, ordered troops from nearby Camp Meade into town. They were put to work at snow-clearance.

JOHN D. LOFTON JR.

David Dellinger (above) and Arthur Waskow, both longtime activists on the ultra-leftist scene, are behind the plot to disrupt Nixon-Agnew inaugural ceremonies in Washington.

If both Administrations, jointly or separately, decide to take advance measures, there is a way to do so. The demonstrators have announced that they will use the facilities of the universities located in and near the District of Columbia. Since most of the hotels will be booked up, the New Leftists could be effectively turned into the wintry streets if federal troops were quartered in the dormitories and on the campuses of Georgetown, George Washington, American and Howard Universities.

At Chicago the rioters chanted into television cameras, "The whole world's

watching." This time, at a presidential inauguration, the world could watch an unforgettable repeat performance.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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NEWSPAPER

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Capital Briefs

● Blood-Is-Thicker-Than-Party-Loyalty Dept.: **Jay Rockefeller**, young scion of the famous family who turned Democrat to run successfully for the West Virginia state legislature and this year for secretary of state, received ample financial assistance in '68 from his GOP relatives. Arkansas Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller and his wife tossed in $3,000 apiece, as did young Rocky's father-in-law, Illinois Sen. Charles Percy and his wife.

● **Thomas Kuchel**, the California Republican senator defeated in the 1968 primary by Max Rafferty, is reportedly joining a prosperous Beverly Hills law firm. The legal outfit is headed by Eugene J. Wyman, who until earlier this year was California's Democratic National Committeeman.

● Two charter members of the Kennedy Clan's **"Irish Mafia"** are prepared to battle it out for Massachusetts' Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1970. Kenny O'Donnell, who tried unsuccessfully for the nomination two years ago, and Democratic National Chairman Larry O'Brien, who has never before sought elective office, are both interested in the race. The two rivals feuded throughout their years with JFK and later RFK.

● Rep. Donald Rumsfeld (R.-Ill.) says that Justice Department spokesmen admit in "off the record" conversations that the real reason the department won't go after Stokely Carmichael is that Atty. Gen. **Ramsey Clark** doesn't want to turn him into a "martyr." Clark, Rumsfeld adds, doesn't want to prosecute white or black militants for violations of the anti-riot legislation passed by Congress this past year.

● California Rep. **John Tunney** blurted out last week something which had never been much of a secret: that he is actively interested in being the Democratic nominee for either the Senate or governor's chair in 1970. Tunney, a young and handsome Kennedy protege who already has strong statewide support within organized labor, enters a field already crowded with Democrats aching for a shot at conservative Republicans Gov. Ronald Reagan and Sen. George Murphy.

● Prize-winning reporter **Tad Szulc** last week became the third New York Times reporter this year to be kicked out of Czechoslovakia by the Communist government. According to the Prague regime, Szulc "grossly abused" his position and attempted "bribery" on officials. The Times' Henry Kamm and David Binder had been ousted earlier on similar charges, all of which the newspaper's New York headquarters has denied.

● As we might have expected, the **"Hong Kong" flu** epidemic currently sweeping the nation has all the earmarks of a well-conceived Communist Plot. According to physicians in Hong Kong, the British colony is not responsible for the epidemic at all. They contend that the flu originated in Red China, first reaching epidemic proportions in the provinces of Szechuan, Kansu, Shensi and Shansi. Travellers from these provinces then brought the germ to Hong Kong, where it infected one out of every five persons, and from there it has spread around the world. As city councilor Huang Mong-hua has argued, the flu's present label "is giving Hong Kong a bad name. Why don't they call it by its proper name—China flu?"

● **Pravda** has ripped into Richard Nixon, apparently for appointing hard-liners to the Pentagon and White House staffs. The official Kremlin rag charged that Nixon was adopting a "policy of failure" in promising that the U.S. would henceforth deal "from a position of strength" in international affairs.

● GOP experts have urged the President-elect to launch an all-out offensive against **organized crime.** Rep. Richard Poff's House Republican Task Force on Crime presented Nixon with a 9,000-word report that urged an increase from 60 to 120 in the number of attorneys assigned to the Justice Department's Organized Crime Section. Poff and his colleagues also suggested that Nixon upgrade the Organized Crime Section to a full-fledged division, headed by an assistant attorney general.

● **Richard Milhous Nixon**, a New York City lawyer, was elected the thirty-seventh President of the United States last week at the quadrennial meeting of the Electoral College. Mr. Nixon, a Republican, received 301 electoral votes to 191 votes for Mr. Hubert Humphrey, a Democrat, and 46 for Mr. George Wallace, an Independent. In the day's only surprise, one North Carolina elector pledged to Mr. Nixon voted for Mr. Wallace.

● The two Minnesota schools where **Hubert Humphrey** will split his new teaching profession are both headed by well-known liberal Republicans: Malcolm Moos, a former speechwriter for President Eisenhower, is president of the University of Minnesota, and Arthur Flemming, Ike's secretary of health, education and welfare, presides over Macalester College.

● Although it is just a coincidence, it is giving Washington the giggles: The new Capital headquarters of the Department of Transportation are currently being built by the construction firm owned by Massachusetts Gov. **John A. Volpe**, the Nixon appointee to the post of secretary of . . . transportation.

● Veteran protest-watchers, wondering what the future may hold, will be interested to note that **Sweden's young leftists,** apparently bored with endless anti-Viet Nam protest demonstrations, have settled on a new target: Christmas. "Electric toothbrushes do not increase the joy of Christmas nor do overloaded credit accounts," said one Stockholm radical, carrying a placard reading "Stoppa Julien"—or, "Stop Christmas."

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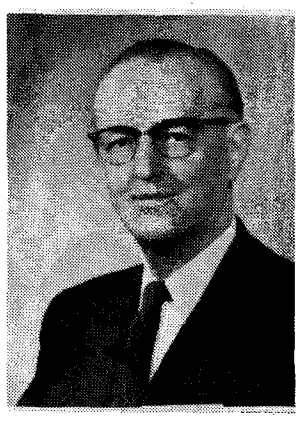
Nixon Worries Asian Experts

Far Eastern experts are under some apprehension these days that the Nixon Administration may be interested in adopting a policy of accommodation toward Communist countries in Asia, including Red China and North Viet Nam. While there is no hard information to this effect, and, indeed, Nixon's past reputation would suggest contrariwise, there is, nevertheless, considerable worry along these lines for a variety of reasons.

For one thing, it is argued Nixon himself appeared to soften his stand toward both Communist China and North Viet Nam during the campaign. For another, he has refused, either directly or indirectly, to criticize the current Administration tactic—most conspicuously obvious in the harsh utterances of Clark Clifford—of trying to club South Viet Nam to the conference table on terms favorable to Hanoi.

The President-elect has, furthermore, noticeably failed thus far to appoint a foreign policy adviser who is identified as a "hard-liner" in the Asian area. Indeed, he has even refused to see some old Asian hands who have a reputation for holding hawkish views.

Many conservatives, for example, have been hoping that Nixon would place former Rep. Walter Judd—a recognized expert on Southeast Asia—in a key slot in the State Department. Judd has a keen knowledge of the Orient, much of which he gained as a missionary doctor. One of the first to say that Japan might initiate a conflict with the U.S. before World



JUDD

CLIFFORD

War II, Judd was also one of the first to point out that Mao Tse-tung was not just an "agrarian reformer." Judd had reason to know of the Communist mind, having treated many of those who later rose to leadership in the Red Chinese hierarchy.

The self-effacing Judd, however, is not asking for a job, but he is interested in getting across his views in a heart-to-heart talk with the President-elect. Though he has known Nixon for 20 years and is on a first-name basis with him, Nixon has found himself too busy to meet with the man he had once seriously considered making his secretary of state had the 1960 elections turned out differently.

There is, however, an even more disturbing factor worrying veteran Asian anti-Communists: Nixon's foreign policy advisers have been seriously thinking of placing Robert A. Scalapino in a top-level post in the Far Eastern section in the State Department. A professor from the University of California at Berkeley, Scalapino is presently on leave from his post and is touring Asia.

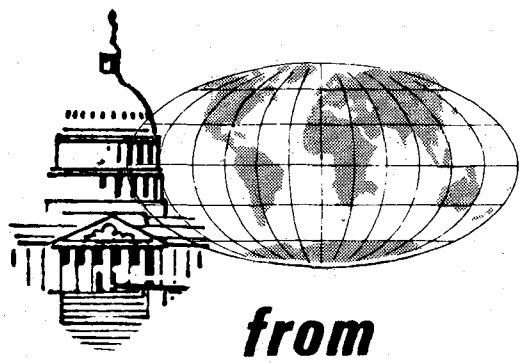
While the professor has sided with the Johnson Administration against the outlandish peaceniks on the question of Viet Nam, his over-all recommendations on the Far East smack of policies advocated by the far-left Institute of Pacific Relations back in the 1940s and 1950s.

Indeed, Scalapino, who wrote the foreword to *Formosa Betrayed*, a savage attack on Nationalist China published just two years ago, is the principal author of the Northeast Asia Section of the 1959 Conlon Report, sponsored by Sen. J. William Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee. In his report, Dr. Scalapino counseled withdrawal of the Chinese Nationalists from the forward islands; i.e., abandonment of Quemoy and Matsu to the Communists.

In a pamphlet, "New Perspectives on Northeast Asia," published in 1961, Prof. Scalapino advances the notion that Communist China be admitted to the United Nations and handed the seat now occupied by the Chinese Nationalists. And Formosa, he suggested, might be neutralized under a U.N. trusteeship, to be followed by a plebiscite.

Despite these highly disturbing signs, those who know Nixon don't really believe the new President

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



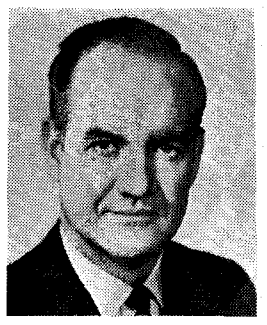
from

Inside Washington

will take a "soft" line once he takes office. Nixon, it is assumed, realizes that a policy of accommodation will only provide the U.S. with additional problems in the future. Nevertheless, many would feel more comfortable if the President-elect would somehow let it be known that he does not intend to turn his back on Communist aggression in Asia.

Kissinger On Viet Nam

Veteran anti-Communists in the Nation's Capital feel that South Viet Nam's Vice President Gen. Nguyen Cao Ky was precisely right when he told so-called "friendly critics" of his country last week to "shut their mouths."



McGOVERN

Ky's remarks were made after being asked to comment on a recent outburst by Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.), the erstwhile peacenik presidential candidate who appears to receive immense satisfaction from scoring our allies and being nice to the Communist enemy. McGovern had declared that Ky, who is overseeing South Viet Nam's talks in Paris, was a "little tinhorn dictator who wastes American tax funds in Paris and American blood in Viet Nam." McGovern, of course, has not—at least to anybody's knowledge—used similarly abusive language against Ho Chi Minh.

Ky's rhetoric, it is believed, was also aimed at what even State Department sources have called the "totally irresponsible" remarks of Defense Secretary Clark Clifford. Clifford recently publicly blamed South Viet Nam for haggling about the seating arrangements at the conference table, though diplomats are well aware that such arrangements can have a decisive effect on the negotiating process.

In the view of these same sources, Clifford uttered another scandalous statement when he nonchalantly said that a renewed Communist offensive in the south would not affect the Paris peace talks. This assertion, it seemed to many, would only encourage whatever assault the VC is apparently preparing.

These blows were painful enough to the leaders of the South Vietnamese government, who are well aware of the United States' chronic appeasement of the Communists at the conference table. But the South Vietnamese were also known to be perturbed by an article in *Foreign Affairs* this month by Henry Kissinger, the man who will be Nixon's chief White House adviser on foreign policy.

While the Kissinger article is complex and warns against imposing any coalition government on Saigon, many diplomatic observers believe his recommendations for ending the war are extremely fuzzy and could be easily manipulated by Hanoi.

Particularly irksome to some were his proposals for South Viet Nam to deal directly with the National Liberation Front—thus giving the NLF recognition—and to have a coalition commission supervise the political process in the south, including new elections.

All this has not only been disturbing to South Viet Nam, but to Asia experts who had hoped that we had learned from previous negotiations with the Communists. What we should be doing, it is argued, is not putting pressure on Saigon, but indicating to North Viet Nam that if it doesn't agree to our terms, U.S. bombers will once again begin flying north.

McNamara Rattles World Bank

Robert S. McNamara, the alleged author of the Edsel, the guiding light behind the TFX fiasco and the liquidator of America's nuclear superiority, has apparently lived up to his past performance as head of the World Bank.

McNAMARA

The former defense secretary's plans to double the bank's operations during the next five years were recently dealt a smashing setback in Switzerland where—for the first time in history—one of the bank's bond issues has been a failure. Approximately 60 per cent of the issue—$18.5 million at 5¼ per cent—remains unsold, although floated back on October 24.

Bankers in Zurich are laying the blame for the failure squarely on McNamara, who became World Bank president in April. The bank has been successful in raising funds in the past through private international capital markets, but McNamara has caused the Swiss financial community much worry ever since his September speech before the bank's annual meeting.

During his talk, McNamara flaunted the fact he wasn't a banker and suggested that the world bank should now push funds into much riskier projects. The financial community was startled, to say the least, and experts stress that this is the major reason for the failure of the bond issue.

Swiss bankers, apparently, aren't the only ones worried about McNamara's new approach. There are serious conflicts within the bank itself, and, as a result, Robert Cavanaugh, who has been a treasurer since 1959, has resigned. Others who have been following McNamara's policies at close hand insist that he's approving projects for countries that will only prove to be a drain on their economies.

So reckless have been McNamara's policies, in fact, that one bank official, when recently asked what he thought the bank would be like in five years, responded: "I hope it will exist."

○

Importing Red Propaganda

Apparently in an effort to breach the "understanding gap" between the United States and the USSR, Bell-McClure Syndicate has decided to offer features on Russian life written by Soviet journalists.

John Osenenko, head of both Bell-McClure and the North American News Alliance, recently traveled to the Soviet Union to work out arrangements for the deal with Novosti, the Soviet news-gathering agency which specializes in feature stories.

Novosti's literary and picture items are circulated in 110 countries and it has contracts with over 6,000 foreign publications, including *Life, Look, Newsweek, National Geographic* and the *Saturday Evening Post.*

Recently interviewed by the U.S. trade journal *Editor & Publisher*, Osenenko said he intends to import "features on science, education, medicine, sports,

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food, fashion and health, but no political columns. If they do begin interjecting politics into their features, we'll drop them."

Osenenko also says: "We'll offer a minimum of three features per week and we'll have a 'Man in Moscow' type column for the editor's swipe-file. If our features do catch on, I'll be happy. I feel the country's ready for this and that it's long overdue, but it's a gamble, as I anticipate a great built-in resistance to everything Soviet from editors around the country."

Human Events can't speak for the editors, but a number of Soviet experts think Osenenko has latched onto a very bad idea. Those "non-political" features, says one knowledgeable Soviet observer, are pure propaganda in that they inflate Soviet achievements and normally picture the Communist system in the best light.

"In short," says another, "Osenenko will not only be importing Soviet propaganda, but giving it some added oomph, courtesy of Bell-McClure."

Militant for Civil Service?

Nixon supporters are worried about stories appearing in the Washington press that Julian R. Dugas, director of Licenses and Inspection in the D.C. city government, is a leading candidate for the post of chairman of the Civil Service Commission.

A Negro, Dugas is considered to have highly controversial views on racial questions. In his present position, he has been quoted as saying: "I am going to be color conscious in my appointments. This is a Negro city and it should be run by Negroes." Dugas has been as good as his word. In the first five months he was in office, he appointed Negroes to all five of the top positions that opened up in his department. Of the first 57 appointments made under Dugas in 1968, 51 were Negroes. Dugas has also said, in the December 1968 *Washingtonian:* "I don't trust any white man. . . ."

Aside from these intriguing views, Dugas, according to experts on the Civil Service Commission, is not the person Nixon needs if the President-elect is intent on shaking up several governmental departments.

For Nixon to achieve this, it is stressed, the all-important post of Civil Service Commission chairman must be occupied by a man who is both sympathetic to a shake-up and who can help the President-elect transfer undesirables from positions they presently occupy without running afoul of the civil service regulations. Unless a tough chairman is picked, it is argued, Nixon will never be able to accomplish the government housecleaning that he has promised.

GOP Leadership Tussle

When Congress convenes January 3, two conservatively oriented Republicans may move into the GOP leadership in the Senate: Roman Hruska (Neb.) and Gordon Allott (Colo.).

Hruska, according to political observers, is now almost a shoo-in for the position of Senate Republican Whip, a post being vacated by lame duck liberal Thomas Kuchel. Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) is currently battling Hruska for the spot, but the Pennsylvania liberal—whose voting record is about half as conservative as Hruska's—has conceded to insiders that he stands only a small chance of victory.

Indeed, so slim do Scott's chances appear that he is already angling for a "compromise post": chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, now held by Iowa solon Bourke B. Hickenlooper, who did not run for re-election this November.

Should Scott lose the Whip race, he could wind up in the Hickenlooper berth because many Republicans for Hruska—including Everett Dirksen and Howard Baker—are willing to appease the liberal Republican wing with a spot on the less important policy post.

But Allott has surprisingly strong backing and could squeeze out a narrow victory if he has to face Scott in a head-to-head contest.

Political insiders say such a race would be nip-and-tuck and may hinge on whom Gov. Walter Hickel or his successor—both Republicans—pick as the next senator from Alaska and the vote cast by the so-far uncommitted Marlow Cook, who was elected to Thruston Morton's seat from Kentucky.

At any rate, conservatives are keeping their fingers crossed that Hruska and Allott will wind up in the winner's circle come January.

NAACP Asks Police Protection

John Lindsay's "Fun City" is a criminal nightmare, the New York branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People charged last week. In a no-holds-barred report, the NAACP called for an immediate halt to "the reign of criminal terror" in Harlem.

Vincent Baker, chairman of the NAACP's anti-crime committee, dismissed the sociological rationale for burgeoning crime. No doubt, he said, lawlessness was the product of "vast social evils" that must be combatted, "but with people here and now being beaten, robbed and murdered, something should be done about crime right now."

The anti-crime committee was "shocked to learn of the large number of persons charged with or convicted of crime who are permitted to roam the streets and hallways without hindrance."

The committee called for much stiffer sentences, including a 10-year minimum for narcotics sellers and at least 30 years for those convicted of first-degree murder. The report also urged five-year terms for muggers—even first offenders—"with no time off for good behavior and no eligibility for parole during that period."

The NAACP called for beefed-up police protection and "armed guards in every house in all public housing projects." Chairman Baker said that while the NAACP would continue to fight police brutality, "it is not police brutality that makes people afraid to walk the streets at night." Police brutality is declining, he said, and is being "superseded by criminal brutality."

Rocky Knifing Conservatives

Panicked by the growing strength of New York's Conservative party, the Albany front men for Nelson Rockefeller and Jacob Javits are readying legislation of dubious constitutionality designed to put the party out of business.

Word was leaked last week that unnamed "political leaders" had drafted legislation that would prohibit a candidate from being nominated by more than one party—by the Republicans and the Conservatives, for instance, or by the Democrats and the Liberals.

The New York *Times* noted that while the legislation would hurt both minor parties, it would hurt the Conservatives far more—since they have been gathering strength and the Liberals have been slipping.

Liberal columnists Evans and Novak noted that the bill—designed to "squeeze the life out of the Conservative party"—was receiving crucial behind-the-scenes support from Gov. Rockefeller.

Ironically, if Rocky's bill had been on the books in November, the Republicans would not have captured control of the State Assembly.

The GOP eked out a 77-to-73 edge only because of the Conservatives. Five Republican assembly candidates running with Conservative endorsement unseated Democratic incumbents where the vote on the Conservative line represented the winning margin.

Note: Rockefeller is pushing the bill despite the ruling of one top state official that it is unconstitutional. "Any bill that would inhibit a duly constituted political party from nominating a candidate of its choice, or would inhibit a candidate from accepting such a nomination, would, in my opinion, run afoul of the constitution," the official said. "I think the courts would be bound to strike it down."

Afro-Asians Spurn U.N. Charter

No matter whom Nixon appoints as ambassador to the United Nations, the incoming President will have a tough time making those Afro-Asian countries tow the line. Within the last two weeks, this irresponsible bloc was at it again, stirring up a constitutional crisis in the glass house on the East River.

In the face of official legal opinion, the 126-member Economic Committee voted to suspend South Africa from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development because of her policy of racial segregation. The suspension carried 49 votes to 22, with 23 abstentions, even after Constantin Stavropoulous, legal counsel for the U.N., declared that such action was outside its powers.

A widely repeated black African comment was that "whether it's legal or not, we will do what we think is right."

The liberal Washington *Post*, which often salaams to the Afro-Asian extremists, made a surprisingly strong condemnation of the act (while praising the Soviet Union for not taking any stand at all by abstaining. Our great friend Yugoslavia, incidentally, cast its lot with the extremists.)

The *Post* argued that the "whim of an inflamed majority" rode "cavalierly over" the U.N. statutes. While the *Post* found it perfectly understandable why so many countries are strongly opposed to apartheid, it declared that such a policy "will not be one whit softened by an arbitrary protest vote in the U.N. . . . "

There was, however, a silver lining to the whole affair. Repeated irresponsible acts of this type, as the *Post* noted, invite "nothing less than death of the U.N."

Reagan Reads Riot Act

California Gov. Ronald Reagan has hurled down the gauntlet at student radicals who threaten to close down state universities "by any means necessary."

"There is no longer room for appeasement or give," Reagan said last week as he dismissed suggestions that he "negotiate" with the rebels. Police will ring campuses throughout the state "if that's what they must do" to keep the schools running, Reagan said.

Reagan gave full support to Dr. S. I. Hayakawa, acting president of turbulent San Francisco State College. Defending Hayakawa for his refusal to remove police from the campus, Reagan said:

"I would suggest concerted plans to get rid of those professors who've made it apparent that they are far more interested in closing the school than in fulfilling their contracts to teach and, likewise, ridding the campus of those part-time students or those non-students who are the militant leaders there."

In Washington security officials confirmed that "professional revolutionaries"—some affiliated with the Students for a Democratic Society and the pro-Peking Progressive Labor party—were flocking to San Francisco to be on hand when school opens after the Christmas holidays.

"Many of the same activists who flocked to Chicago for the Democratic National Convention riots and who have made illegal trips to Hanoi and Havana are arriving in San Francisco," one government official said.

• San Francisco State is not the only California institution now under radical seige. In Los Angeles radical leftists are believed responsible for the recent firebombing of administrative offices at San Fernando Valley State College.

Only last month student radicals held 34 administrators and faculty members hostage for four hours. One of those held captive was acting President Paul Blomgren, whose offices were destroyed last week by the arsonists. Blomgren had been under police protection because of his get-tough attitude toward student dissidents.

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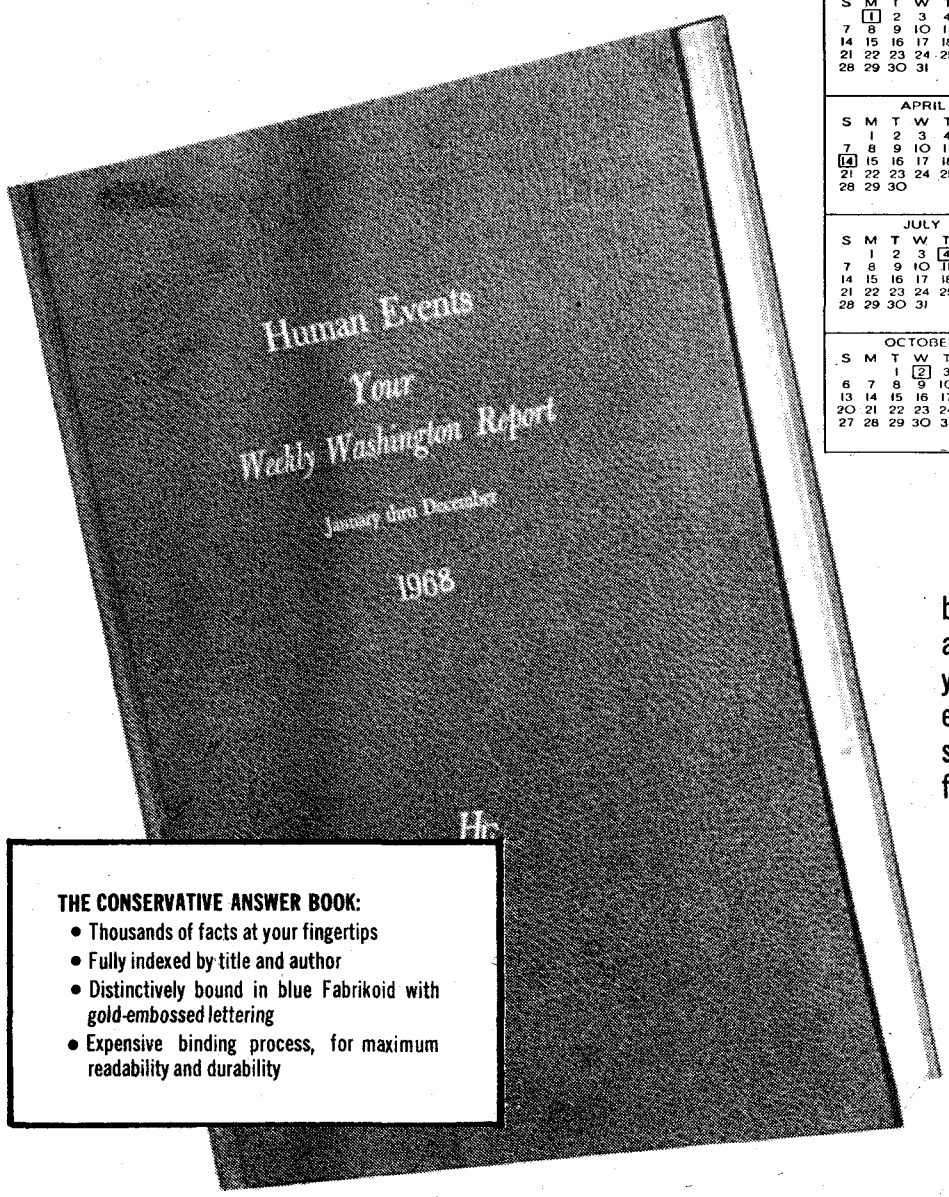

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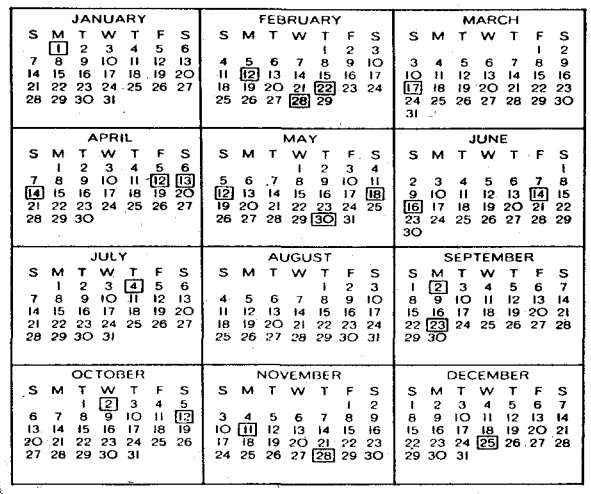

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Is It Right to Honor Man Who Broke With Tito?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

At the annual Freedom House dinner in New York City they gave a Freedom Award to the dissident Yugoslav Communist, Milovan Djilas, whose books, *The New Class* and *Conversations With Stalin*, have so displeased Marshal Tito.

It was the strangest of evenings. Djilas, a man of great moral and physical courage, was actually allowed by the Tito dictatorship to visit the U.S. and make anti-Soviet speeches for Western consumption despite the fact that he is not permitted to attack Moscow on Yugoslav soil. At home every time Djilas writes a new book he is clapped into jail. But here he was on a dais at the Hotel Roosevelt in Manhattan, undertaking a trip that must have symbolic value to Tito in pushing the Yugoslav war of nerves against the Russians. When a dictatorship uses its distinguished intellectual prisoners as pawns in foreign policy, it is, to say the least, a matter for ironical reflection.

Yugoslav writer Milovan Djilas was the recipient of a Freedom House award for his sharp attacks against the brutality of communism.

Is it a victory for righteousness? Or only for cynicism?

I asked Djilas why they let him out. It was as a gesture to the West, he said. Before leaving to return home he left the manuscript of his new book, *The Unperfect State*, in the hands of his publisher, William Jovanovich of Harcourt, Brace and World. Presumably, when the book hits the American book stores next April, Tito will send Djilas back to jail. This, no doubt, as a gesture to the East—or at least to the Eastern idea that intellectuals have no rights that are unconnected with their usefulness to the state, or the establishment, or whatever you want to call the possessors of de facto power.

It took plenty of courage for Djilas to write *The New Class*, an attack on the inhumanity of all Marxist bureaucracies, and let it see the light of day while still living in a Communist country. But certain demonstrators who paraded up and down in front of the Hotel Roosevelt resented the fact that Freedom House had chosen to give Djilas an award. They carried banners that read: "Djilas, Murderer." And one of them, breaking into the ballroom in the middle of Djilas' speech of acceptance, shouted something about "Djilas, the Eichmann of Yugoslavia."

The raucous dissenters against the idea of rewarding the dissenter were New York Serbs who had been driven out of Yugoslavia by no less a person than Djilas himself. This was when Djilas was Tito's right-hand man in fighting the patriot Col. Draja Mikhailovitch, who also wanted to run the country once Hitler had been driven out of the Balkans.

Mikhailovitch, a non-Communist, lost out because Winston Churchill, quite incomprehensibly, preferred to work with Tito, the Marxist. The Mikhailovitch Serbs had long memories: they were still thinking of Djilas, a Montenegrin, as a Communist, and as a sycophant of Stalin. They recalled that Djilas and other Titoists of the World War II period had praised Stalin for his "pure conscience and unselfish heart."

Well, we all live and learn. The picketers should have been told to go home and read the Gospel according to St. Luke, Chapter 15, Verse 7, which says that "joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance." For, as Djilas attacked the inhumanity of communism, it was obvious that he is a thoroughly repentant man.

Even so, there was a certain disproportion to the evening. John Dos Passos, the novelist who used to be a hero to U.S. liberals, sat in the audience as Djilas took the award. It so happened that Dos Passos had discovered the truth about the "new class" of Communist bureaucrats while covering the civil war in Spain in the 1930s. For writing the same sort of thing that Djilas now writes, Dos Passos was reviled by his old leftist friends.

Another person in the audience was William L. White, the publisher of the *Emporia Gazette*, who anticipated Djilas' conclusions about Stalin by at least a decade when he made a trip to Moscow towards the end of World War II. Bill White put his conclusions into a book back in the 1945 period, and was promptly lynched (intellectually, of course) by the New York liberals of the day. Nice persons, those liberals.

I would not for a moment deprive Djilas of his Freedom Award. I honor the man for changing his mind about communism. But won't someone, sometime, pause to honor people like Dos Passos and Bill White, who broke with prevailing liberal opinion in the U.S. about communism when it took guts to do it? Maybe not quite the same guts that Djilas possesses, but something that can be called the courage to exhibit "grace under pressure" nonetheless?

Yours for justice, as Djilas himself might say.

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COMMUTATION FOR BILLY?—Texas wheeler-dealer Billy Sol Estes is petitioning his old pal, Lyndon Johnson, for commutation of his 15-year jail term. Estes, sent to prison for a giant mail fraud conspiracy, hopes that LBJ will commute his sentence sometime before leaving office in January. Estes is not eligible for parole until 1970.

□□□

McKELDIN'S 'JUST REWARD'—LBJ is quietly repaying his political debts. Without fanfare, the Chief Executive named former Baltimore Mayor Theodore McKeldin to a cushy job on the Indian Claims Commission. McKeldin, a Republican, actively campaigned for Johnson in 1964, and has longed for a federal job ever since.

President-elect Nixon meets with his Cabinet. From left, front row are: David Kennedy, Treasury; Melvin Laird, Defense; Vice President-elect Spiro Agnew; Nixon; John A. Volpe, Transportation; Robert Mayo, Budget Director; and Robert Finch, HEW. Second row: William Rogers, State; Winton Blount, Postmaster General; John Mitchell, Attorney General; Maurice Stans, Commerce; George Romney, HUD; Clifford Hardin, Agriculture; and Walter Hickel, Interior.

Nixon Team Projects Competence

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

The Nixon Cabinet is an impressive collection of competent men. It bears an image of efficiency and integrity which should serve the country well. Where it goes will depend upon the captain of the ship.

It will be a few months before we can make an appraisal of the Nixon course. As the new President faces up to the challenges of his office, he will reveal his purpose and direction.

The Nixon election campaign was so restrained and noncommittal as to leave a confused impression of his strategic comprehension. But that posture cannot be preserved in the presidency. As Harry Truman said, "The buck stops here." A President must decide.

So we shall see the Nixon direction in his actions. Citizens who worked enthusiastically for Mr. Nixon because they were fed up with Johnson corruption and maladministration must not be discouraged by what Mr. Nixon says. It is one of the realities of our day that every President must be an impassioned advocate of peace. The difference will be not in what Mr. Nixon says but in what he does.

The classic use of the peace fog was made by John F. Kennedy. He reversed the Truman doctrine which had guided foreign affairs throughout the Eisenhower Administration. But he did not announce the change. He asserted with great eclat that he was taking new initiatives to achieve world peace. The American people never realized what was happening.

Mr. Nixon is under a similar compulsion. After all, 40 per cent of our people never did penetrate the peace propaganda to discover what the Johnson Administration was really doing. Mr. Nixon must reach these people and carry them forward with him.

Mr. Nixon will therefore speak in terms which recognize the commitment of the American people to peace. The sound will not vary greatly from those made by John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. Mr. Nixon may make a drastic change of course, but he must present it to the American people as merely a projection of our continuing quest for peace.

The Kennedy and Johnson errors lay not in the goals set but in the manner and means of reaching them. Their administrations turned to measures based upon fear and illusion. They deceived themselves in believing that they could change Communist purposes and methods through conciliation and negotiation.

Mr. Nixon has only to pursue the same goals with tough realism. He doesn't have to attack and condemn the depravity of the Communist system. The response of Communist leaders to the Nixon peace initiatives will expose those traits to public view. When these realities, hitherto hidden from public view by design of the U.S. government, become apparent, Americans deceived about the nature of communism will begin to see the light.

I expect President Nixon to pay high tribute to the ideals of the United Nations. But I also expect him to know of the Soviet domination of the Secretariat and to impose a firm veto on Soviet manipulation of that vital element of the Agency. I expect President Nixon to praise the world aspirations embodied in the United Nations Charter; but I also expect him to use that forum to condemn the cynical violation of the Charter behind the Iron Curtain where all people, Russian and Chinese as well as those of the Captive Nations, are denied the most elementary human dignity and personal security.

In short, I expect President Nixon to show by his actions that the peace which we all seek must be pursued in honesty and in fearless facing up to reality, not in self-deception and hiding the truth from our people. He has said as much.

President-elect Nixon has a Cabinet which can do the job. Great opportunity lies before him.

□□□

ALL IS FORGIVEN, HUBERT—The Americans for Democratic Action recently proved its ability to "forgive and forget." At a recent Washington meeting the ADA national board passed a resolution inviting Hubert Humphrey back into the ranks. The ADA, read the proposition, "most cordially and warmly invites its former national chairman . . . to resume membership in ADA and his previous post as vice chairman." During the 1968 presidential primaries the anti-Viet Nam ADA had backed Eugene McCarthy, then reluctantly supported HHH following the convention.

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How Nixon Now Views Viet Nam War

By PAUL SCOTT

President-elect Nixon is convinced he must wind up the Viet Nam war in from six to eight months either through negotiations or new military action.

If the conflict lingers on any longer, Nixon believes he will find himself in the same deep political trouble that forced President Johnson to withdraw from the 1968 presidential race.

Those are the significant thoughts on the war that the President-elect has expressed privately to persons designated to serve in his Cabinet.

"One of my most important decisions on taking office will be how the war in Viet Nam can be concluded as swiftly as possible," Nixon frankly told one Cabinet-designate.

"If the war goes on for more than six to eight months," Nixon stressed, "I'm going to find myself just as unpopular as was President Johnson last summer."

Rep. Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.), picked to be the next secretary of defense, has recommended to Nixon that he adopt a "win the war or get out" strategy.

Unless there is a dramatic breakthrough toward military disengagement at the conference table in Paris soon, Laird predicts, the Communist build-up in South Viet Nam will force the new President to order a resumption of U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam.

"The safety of American fighting men in South Viet Nam will soon dictate that we either prepare to withdraw them or adopt a new strategy to win the war," Laird states privately.

Other advisers want Nixon to send a secret warning to Hanoi that if a cease-fire is not agreed on by February 1 he will be forced to use all military force necessary to end the conflict.

A similar warning sent by President Eisenhower in 1953 to Peking caused the Chinese Communists and North Koreans to agree to a cease-fire in Korea.

In several of their private talks the former GOP President has urged Nixon to follow the same strategy in Viet Nam. He has told the President-elect that the threat of a bombing resumption is a powerful weapon that he could use to force Hanoi to agree to a cease-fire.

★ ★ ★

Those latest terrorist attacks in South Viet Nam are the prelude to a new major Communist offensive in mid-January—or about the time the new Nixon Administration is to take office.

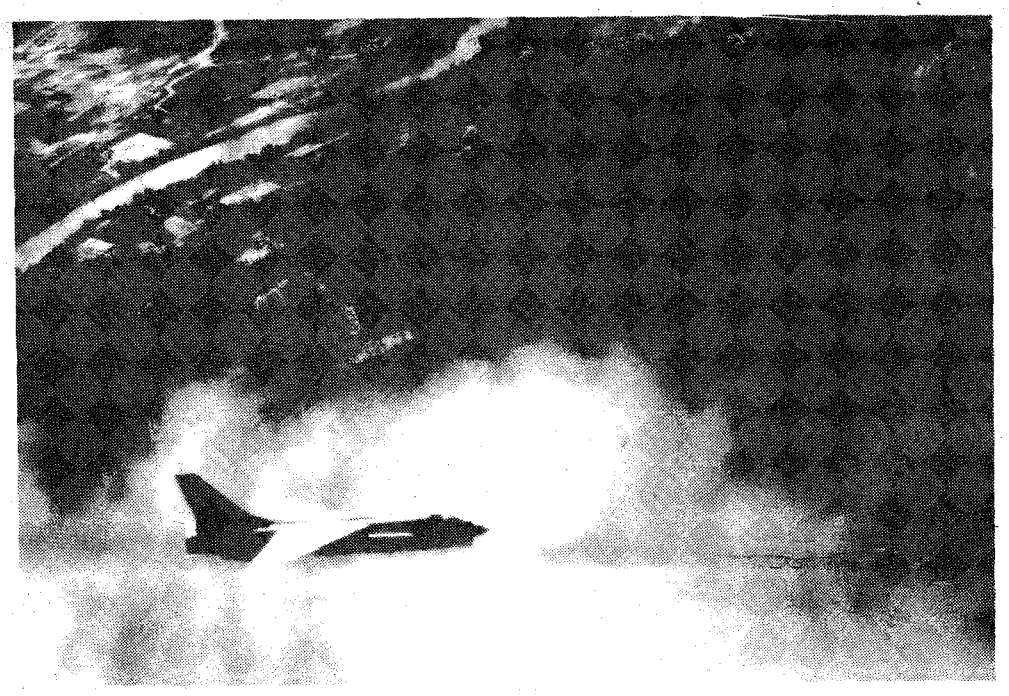
The extensive preparations by the North Vietnamese clearly indicate that the military action could be on the magnitude of last January's Tet holiday blitz.

This new assessment of Hanoi's latest military intentions is based on mounds of documentary material, prisoners' interrogations, and the disposition of and increase in number of Communist main-force units in the 11 provinces surrounding Saigon.

One of the most alarming pieces of evidence of Hanoi's future plans is a captured directive from the Viet Cong high command urging all commanders to prepare for a military blitz in January.

Circulated in early October, the Communists' order of battle predicted the American bombing halt which President Johnson announced in November.

The directive stated that the months of November and December were to be devoted to the movement of as large an amount of supplies, arms, and men into South Viet Nam as humanly possible.



"With the bombing halt," the document says, "all units should use the next 60 days to prepare for the decisive battle of the war."

The directive also ordered political cadre to intensify troop indoctrination with a target date of completion by December 31. Extensive political indoctrination generally precedes a new, major Communist military thrust.

Masses of other captured documents and prisoner interrogations give in great detail specific unit instructions for implementing another Communist split-styled attack on all major South Viet Nam cities.

U.S. intelligence authorities here in Washington say that North Viet Nam's main-force units are fanned out north and northwest of Saigon in a wide arc astride the jungle-covered Cambodian border area.

In these strategic positions, the Red units are in a favorable posture for resupply, refitting, regrouping and receiving replacements. When spotted by U.S. advance units, the North Vietnamese simply move back into their Cambodian sanctuary where U.S. forces are barred from attacking.

Three North Vietnamese divisions—the 5th, 7th and 9th—are now operating in this area. In recent weeks they have had their military troop strength and equipment brought up to full fighting capability.

Since the bombing halt, North Viet Nam's main-force strength has been increased from 77 to 87 battalions in the 11 provinces around Saigon. To counter the new threat, Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, U.S. commander in Saigon, moved the U.S. Army's 1st Air Cavalry Division into a blocking position between Saigon and the Communist forces located near the Cambodian border.

Since mid-November the U.S. military command in Saigon has watched with growing concern a build-up of Soviet-made tanks in southern Laos and Cambodia.

The tank force, which included armored vehicles larger than any the U.S. now has in South Viet Nam, are estimated to number more than 50.

In his latest report to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Abrams warned that the North Vietnamese had the capability of moving these tanks into South Viet Nam at any time.

Since President Johnson ended the bombing of North Viet Nam the Communists have worked night and day constructing a petroleum pipeline south from the 19th parallel area to bases above the demilitarized zone.

The pipeline, one more indication that Hanoi has not abandoned plans for further military operations in South Viet Nam, is designed to carry fuel for tanks and the Communists' growing truck fleet.

These are the military developments in South Viet Nam that are beginning to cast a dark cloud over President Johnson's decision to halt the bombing of North Viet Nam.

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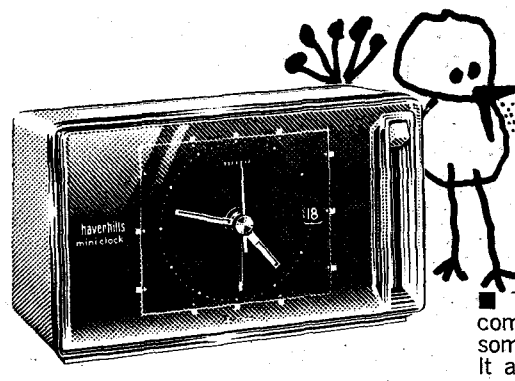

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Christmas Mail Endangered

Post Office Moves to Prevent Sabotage by Militants

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

Militant "Black Power" postal employes are under special surveillance to avert their attempting to disrupt mail service during the stupendous Christmas rush.

While nothing is being said publicly about these emergency security measures, they have been instituted wherever a considerable number of postal workers are Negroes.

Reason for these extraordinary precautions is three undercover sabotage plots by militant "Black Power" postal employes:

(1) During the recent election, to slow down delivery and misdirect large quantities of campaign mail; (2) to prevent other employes from participating in a "suggestion box" program; (3) to oppose the giving of contributions to the United Givers Fund—despite the fact that the principal beneficiaries are Negroes.

National and local postal authorities are firmly confident there will be no snarls or undue delays in Christmas mail collection and delivery. Says Carlton Beall, veteran Washington, D.C., postmaster:

"We are watching the situation closely and are quite certain we can cope with it. We constantly get tips and information from loyal employes of schemes and plans to disrupt the mail and cause trouble. These loyal workers will tell us about these conspiracies and threats, but they won't identify those involved in them. Frankly, that's because they are afraid of the extremists. There is no question there is quite a bit of fear of them among our employes."

The "Black Power" scheme to foul up electioneering mail was thwarted by word from loyal workers. They told Beall about it and he immediately installed a number of special supervisors to keep an eye on the suspects and their activities. As a consequence nothing happened.

"I let it be known that anyone caught would be immediately suspended and charges placed against him," said Beall. "That served notice on the militants that we knew what they were up to and wouldn't tolerate it."

Of Washington's 12,500 postal workers, approximately 80 per cent are Negro.

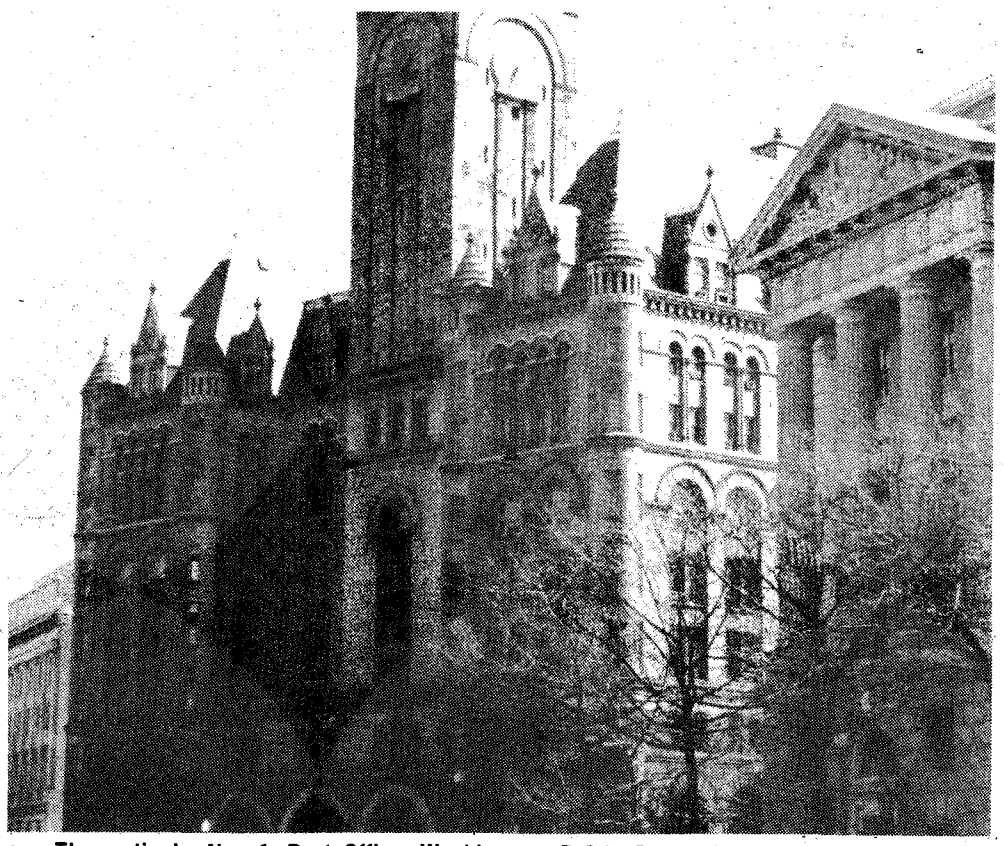
Nationally, there are around 715,000 postal employes, of whom 132,000 are black. Another 20,000 are from other minority groups—Mexican-American, Indian, Eskimo, Chinese, etc.

So far, "Black Power" militants, while a constant source of dissension, strife and difficulties, are a small minority among postal workers.

In the Nation's Capital, Postmaster Beall estimates they number some 150. They have an organization of their own called the Core of Postal Employes ("COPE"). It claims to be affiliated with the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employes.

An Alliance spokesman denied that, asserting it has no ties with "COPE." The Alliance, which claims 45,000 members nationally, is one of several unions representing D.C. postal workers. One of them, all-black, purports to have 3,000 Washington members.

Postmaster Beall says, "One of this union's officials is also a 'COPE' leader."



The nation's No. 1 Post Office, Washington, D.C.'s Benjamin Franklin Station, is among the targets of "Black Power" groups that may try to hamper mail delivery. So far, postal authorities have been keeping a close watch on the situation.

The long-time D.C. postmaster is inclined to put much of the blame for difficulty in being able to forcefully deal with provocative militants on regional postal authorities.

"They have a high degree of tolerance," says Beall, "and their attitude of retention [of the militants] is very strong. I have no authority to fire anyone. I can only make recommendations for discipline or penalties. The power to hire and fire rests with the regional office.

"When local management can't exert discipline over its employes, that makes for difficulty. Local postmasters should have full disciplinary power. I am hoping the Nixon Administration will take steps to give postmasters more authority to deal with trouble-makers and disturbers like the 'Black Power' militants."

According to Beall, aggressive "COPE" leaders have defiantly declared: "You can pacify us, but you can never satisfy us." A number of them, he stated, already are under some form of disciplinary action.

"We don't tolerate nonsense from these people or anyone else," says Beall. "Whenever they try to start something, we order them out of the building. If they are not in the building, they can't agitate. We have found that tactic very successful. When they cool off and quiet down, they can come back. They are not gaining members and haven't made the inroads as yet they thought they would. But they are not pleasant to have around."

Ken Fulton, of the Post Office Department's public relations staff, confirmed Beall's complaint about lack of authority to get rid of trouble-makers.

"Yes," he admitted, "it takes quite a while to fire someone."

Similarly, he conceded, there were instances where "Black Power" militants had caused disruptions in post offices. But Fulton refused to name them. Instead, he pointed out that the postal service is the major employer of minority groups in the U.S.

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World Looks Brighter for Bobby Baker

By WILLARD EDWARDS

There are many long faces in the capital these days as the Johnson Administration nears an end and many who basked in its patronage contemplate a dreary future.

But one bright and cheerful countenance gleams through the enveloping gloom. It belongs to Bobby Baker, former secretary to the Senate Democratic majority, who has reason to feel increasing confidence that he will be around, free and prosperous, when many of his former masters have long departed.

Recent legal developments have enhanced Bobby's chances of eventual escape from the prison sentence of one to three years pronounced upon him nearly two years ago after a jury found him guilty of theft and evasion of income tax.

This development has caused little surprise in the Senate, where Bobby worked for two decades, a member of the inner circle, as trusted assistant to Lyndon B. Johnson, the majority leader, who later became vice president and President.

From the first exposure of Bobby's operations more than five years ago, the wise men of Capitol Hill expressed doubt that he would ever suffer any penalty.

This opinion was reinforced after a trial in which Bobby behaved with the greatest discretion, considering the knowledge he possessed of shenanigans under the dome.

Bobby sought to blame only one Senate leader—the late Sen. Robert S. Kerr (D.-Okla.)—in seeking to establish his innocence of stealing $99,600 given to him in October and November 1962 for political purposes.

The jury rejected this story after William O. Bittman, the government prosecutor, told them that a verdict of not guilty would be branding a dead man, who could not reply, as a bribe-taker.

But Bobby's reticence was applauded by powerful figures whose careers might have been endangered if he had told all that he knew in a desperate attempt to save himself. The White House itself was reported to have congratulated Edward Bennett Williams, Bobby's attorney, on the prudence of his tactics.

Bobby went out of his way, in fact, to clear President Johnson, "the best friend I ever had around the Capitol," of any knowledge of the operations which enabled him, on a $19,600 salary, to amass a fortune of between $1 and $2 million. Bobby testified that he was severely admonished by Johnson in 1960 for engaging in legal practice while a Senate officer. After that, he emphasized, he concealed his business deals from his superior.

Thus, as he began a long legal battle to reverse the verdict, Bobby had a vast amount of good will going for him in high quarters. He also had Williams, one of the great criminal lawyers of this era, who has concentrated his attack on evidence against Bobby gained by wiretapping methods.

Under orders from the United States Court of Appeals, the trial judge will hold a hearing next week on whether bugged telephone conversations helped the government to secure some of the evidence used at the trial.

A motion for a new trial holds even greater hope for Bobby. A federal judge in another case recently ruled that evidence by a Washington lobbyist, the main witness against Bobby, was "tainted" because the lobbyist was induced by government promises of immunity to permit himself to be equipped with a transmitter taped to his stomach when he talked to Bobby and others about a tax evasion scheme.

Many powerful politicos can sleep easier at night since Bobby Baker has chosen not to tell all he knows.

If this same ruling were to be applied in the Baker case, the government would face difficulty in convicting him at a second trial.

Bobby may yet go to jail but he, himself, is breezily confident of ultimate legal vindication. So are many who knew him when. They say he knows where too many bodies are buried.

(1968, Chicago Tribune-N.Y. News Syndicate)

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Pro-West Regimes Face Siege

Red-Backed Guerrilla Wars Loom in Africa

By RICHARD BOCKLET

Armed liberation movements in southern Africa are big business. Ruling out peaceful maneuvers to achieve black control of the area, African nationalists vow guerrilla warfare to the end. Their targets are the white-controlled governments of Rhodesia, Portugal's territories of Mozambique and Angola, the Republic of South Africa and its mandate South West Africa.

As military authorities in southern Africa see it, the guerrillas are operating a pincer movement from Tanzania through Mozambique on the east coast and from the Congo to Angola on the west coast. Using Zambian bases to the north, rebels penetrate Rhodesia. Their ultimate objective is the industrial and mineral-rich heartland of South Africa. And with Western influence around the Suez Canal repidly being replaced by Russian, Reds now seek control of the important Cape passages at the tip of southern Africa.

Summarized one government official of a "southern sixth" nation to this writer: "It's not only a question of our own survival but the continuation of a vital link in free world security. We hope our friends in the West will firmly support us."

In interviews with police, military and government authorities as well as qualified non-governmental observers and rebels themselves in this potentially explosive part of the continent, the following picture emerges:

• Battle lines are being more sharply drawn than ever before. Ideological positions are crystallizing. More and more the conflict seems to be turning racial—black vs. white.

• Rebel forces are backed by nonwhite governments in north, central and eastern Africa. Southern white governments are shored up with vast investment dollars from the United States and Western Europe. Also, much of their arms supplies come from NATO-bloc countries.

• According to security experts, Communists look on the nationalist movements as vehicles to gain entrance to this strategic and minerally rich part of the world. Realizing this, the southern white governments are currently stockpiling arms supplies for any eventuality.

RICHARD BOCKLET

Above is a display of Soviet- and Chinese-made arms captured from Zambian terrorists operating against Rhodesia.

Vorster vs. Kaunda

As greater coordination between guerrilla movements becomes evident, closer military and consultative links between the white governments seem certain.

Presently, South Africa has around 300 troops in northern Rhodesia helping combat black rebels there. Guerrilla sources insisted to this writer that South African forces are also fighting in Mozambique and Angola although hard proof still is lacking. There is constant speculation in various quarters of secret mutual assistance military alliances between South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories, although such links are publicly denied. However, in an apparent allusion to his troops on foreign soil, South Africa's Prime Minister B. J. Vorster declared recently: " . . . as far as we are concerned, we are prepared to fight terrorists, our terrorists, wherever we are allowed to do so."

Charges and countercharges between black and white African rulers are sharp. President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia, who officially plays host to rebel organization headquarters and unofficially winks at guerrilla training bases on his soil, foresees eventual open hostility. "It's going to be white against black." Referring to southern white rulers, he bellowed: "They are mad people. They need treatment and the treatment we can give them is action."

In no uncertain terms, Prime Minister Vorster retorted: "I say to Kaunda that if he ever tries to use violence against South Africa, we will hit him so hard that he will never forget it."

The Zambia *Times* on September 5 aptly epitomized the tense Zambian-Rhodesian-Mozambique border situation. "Already military circles in Rhodesia and South Africa are openly advocating Dayan-type raids against Tanzania and Zambia as reprisals against the aid these two countries are giving to the guerrilla forces. Zambia is particularly in the forefront. Already she has complained that she is the victim of attacks over her borders from the Portuguese, and that Rhodesian planes have overflown her borders."

Zambian Guerrilla Camps

The guerrilla war in Rhodesia has heated up since small incursion bands first came down from Zambia in the spring of 1966. Now Rhodesian army and police units encounter bands of 30 or 40 guerrillas, even more in some instances.

In pitched battles, casualties are suffered on both sides. Security forces claim to have killed over 100 nationalist guerrillas so far this year, most of them members of the illegal Rhodesian Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). Over 200 others are being held in prison camps.

'Round the clock, Rhodesia's border patrol—beefed up by a fleet of modern jet fighters, helicopters and highly versatile launches—scours the dense jungle and lake area of the Zambezi River Valley bordering on Zambia. Military forces with high-powered glasses claim to watch guerrilla units grouping on Zambian soil. Clashes often end with rebels fleeing to sanctuary across the lengthy border.

The Rhodesian intelligence network has pinpointed guerrilla training centers in Zambia. Several camps ring the capital city of Lusaka—for example, Nkomo Camp in the Chunga River Valley and the Lithule Camp on the King Edward Mine Road, only about 12 miles from the downtown areas. Others are located about 40 miles to the south and west, one by the town of Livingston.

It is estimated that upwards of 1,000 black nationalists are now training in Zambia for eventual combat against the Ian Smith regime. (The guerrillas themselves claim around 2,000, but this is thought to be a highly inflated figure.) And not all are Rhodesian rebels; members of South Africa's National Congress (ANC) are there too.

ANC joined forces with ZAPU in August of last year and since then the intensity as well as the international scope of the conflict has increased.

This past August security authorities acknowledged that 29 guerrillas felled in action were of South African origin. Apparently, some were en route to activities in South West Africa when they clashed with government troops. And in June a rebel band of the South African Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), passing through Mozambique territory, near Zambia's southeastern border, battled with an army contingent there.

Guerrilla use of Zambian soil for actions against their homeland was acknowledged in the August 31-September 6 edition of ZAPU's newsletter, "The Zimbabwe Review." "Zambia is very important in our struggle for freedom. Its geographical position and Zimbabweans who, because of this geographical position, live and work in Zambia, are two very important factors we must never lose sight of in our fight for liberation. To organize a people as we are doing for a country other than one's own is not an easy thing."

And yet guerrilla training reaches much further than just Zambia. Blacks receive sabotage and insurrection courses at camps in Egypt, Algeria, both Congos, and Tanzania.

"Communist involvement in the rebel forces is quite evident," Mr. Lardner-Burke, Rhodesia's minister of justice, law and order informed this writer. "Young Africans are offered scholarships for study behind the Iron Curtain and find themselves quickly receiving guerrilla training at schools and camps in Czechoslovakia, Russia, Red China and North Korea. Proportionately, the numbers trained in far-off Castro Cuba are quite high. They return well-trained and thoroughly indoctrinated, even referring to superiors as 'commissars.'"

Other authorities also are more impressed than a year ago with the fighting ability and morale of the guerrillas. Many trudge through rough jungle and mountainous terrain with around 100 pounds of weapons, ammunition and food strung on their back, sing revolutionary songs along the way.

Arms supplies, too, are of top caliber and most come from behind the Iron Curtain. Anti-aircraft

Continued on page 10

Shown here is the Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, headquarters of the Organization of African Unity, which is committed to bring down the white governments of southern Africa with Communist help.

Mr. Bocklet, a widely traveled New York-based freelance writer, has contributed many foreign affairs articles to Human Events. *He recently returned from a long trip throughout Africa.*

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'Uptight': The Black Power Story?

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

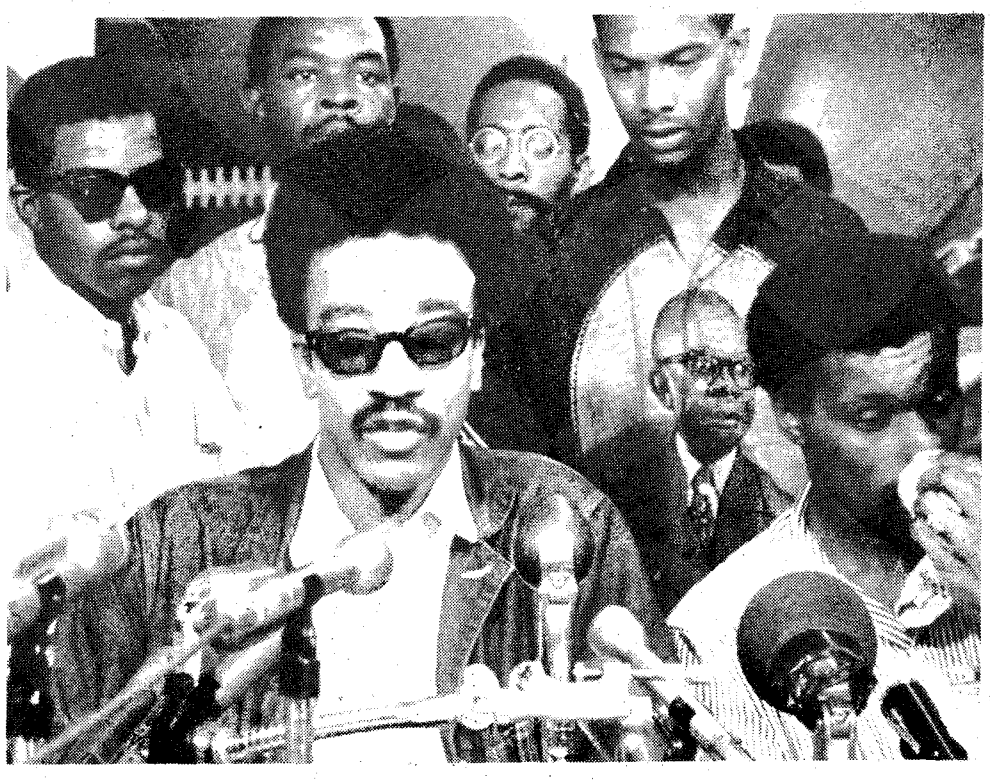
At the National Press Club recently Paramount Pictures unveiled its own monument to the "Black Power" movement. The film, "Uptight," will be seen at your neighborhood movie house, passed off as entertainment. But it is far more than that, which is why the producers screened it before the Washington press corps. The writer and director of the film, Jules Dassin, is a controversial figure himself, one of those in the Hollywood set who made themselves expatriates during the '50s to avoid testifying before congressional committees seeking to ferret out the extent of Communist penetration into the movie industry.

No one can challenge Mr. Dassin's abilities and talents. His list of hits includes "Rififi" and "Never on Sunday," and he can use story line and camera to build up tension more effectively than any of the current crop of movie makers. But "Uptight," based on the great Liam O'Flaherty story on which "The Informer" was based, professes to be a sociological document. It takes the story of a man who betrayed a comrade in the Irish rebellion and sets it in Cleveland. The Irish revolutionaries, fighting for independence from the British crown, become a "Black Power" cell, plotting the destruction of the society "whitey" has built. They are at war not with an alien power, but against their own government.

This could make for powerful theater, and for some poignant insights into the dilemma facing both whites and blacks in these troubled and confusing times. Because the movie will be widely seen it merits discussion in what is, after all, a political column. And it is my sad opinion that Mr. Dassin's "Uptight" is hardly that close to the line of compassionate and dispassionate analysis of the Negro struggle.

To many whites, it will merely confirm the belief held by those caught up in the much-publicized backlash that most Negroes are now completely alienated from the movement which brought them precedent-making civil rights legislation and which has so dramatically opened doors to those who would move outward from their economic ghetto. Those who seek to push forward through legitimate political action are made to look weak and a little foolish. The heroes of the film are the cop-killers and the organizers of violence.

It is not said in so many words, but the moral of the film seems to be that only by insurrection can the black man attain dignity and his place in the



Such far-out noisy "Black Power" advocates as H. Rap Brown have turned many people of good will away from legitimate Negro aspirations. Columnist Ralph de Toledano notes that Jules Dassin hasn't helped matters by lionizing the extremists in "Uptight."

American sun. The majority of the black community, who see the answer to their problems in economic integration and in the breakdown of those restrictions on job opportunity imposed by the labor unions, would probably debate this point.

It is sad, too, that Mr. Dassin—in telling the story of a tragic Negro, rejected by the "Black Power" conspirators because he drinks, who informs on a friend wanted for murder—turns to the kind of stereotype which negates much of what has been accomplished in the mass media over the past decade. Except for the "Black Power" conspirators, the other Negroes in the film are carousing, luridly dressed wastrels, gamblers and prostitutes.

The one truly moving and true-to-life scene deals with the rejection by the "Black Power" conspirators of a white man who had worked with them once in Selma and in the other centers of anti-segregationist action—a rejection because he is white.

The struggle for Negro rights, and for the attainment of those goals to which all men of good-will must subscribe, is complex and heartbreaking. It cannot be depicted in a story whose major aim seems to be the creation of cinematic excitement. A writer-director with less flair than Mr. Dassin might have been able to tell it better. "Uptight," however, can only feed the anger of the white man and the impatience of the black.

"The Informer," one of John Ford's masterpieces, generated sympathy for the Irish revolutionaries. "Uptight" inspires fear—and that is hardly the kind of emotion which leads to the kind of understanding and knowledge so desperately needed today.

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RICHARD C. SCAMMON, former director of the Census Bureau, said recently that unless Nixon is notably successful in maintaining civil order in the next four years, George Wallace "will have an excellent chance of running a good race and perhaps of winning in 1972."

Continued from page 9

Guerrilla Wars Loom in Africa

guns, heavy mortars, bazookas, short-wave transmitters and walkie talkies are becoming standard battle equipment.

At the armory in Salisbury, a police lieutenant showed this reporter captured rebel arms supplies, including: Red Chinese-made AK-47 automatic assault rifles, rocket launchers, Russian-made machine guns and 7.62 mm S.K.S. semi-automatic carbines, Chinese and U.S.-made grenades (probably captured by Viet Cong forces in South Viet Nam), pistol ammunition and Czech-made combat boots. All of this is the same material being used presently by Communist guerrillas in South Viet Nam. Similar captured arms can be seen in Angola and Mozambique.

The Rhodesian public is being geared for a battle that could continue for some time. Newspapers carry daily reports from the war zone; ads urge support for the Border Patrol. Just recently came news of the battle death of a South African constable—the first such publicly acknowledged casualty in the conflict.

However, one informed source told the writer: "Currently several things are in our favor. Guerrillas seem pressed for recruits, use kidnapping and subterfuge of free schooling to lure unsuspecting Africans into their ranks. Also, our black population has been remarkably loyal to the government by immediately reporting guerrilla presence and activities to the authorities. I only hope it continues this way."

In the neighboring Portuguese territory of Mozambique, black rebels have been battling for four years now. They claim hegemony over widespread but sparsely populated areas in the north. The best information, however, is that the situation is stalemated militarily, but the government hopes strides on the social and economic front can tip the scales in its favor.

Directly west from Mozambique, on the Atlantic Ocean, the Portuguese territory of Angola is also feeling the brunt of a guerrilla campaign. Without doubt, revolutionaries there are better trained, financed and indoctrinated than when they began their bitter campaign in 1961. But as long as Angola remains economically viable, and its rich diamond, iron and oil fields indicate it will for some time, Portugal's 55,000-man troop commitment there will continue.

In all of these areas one of the chief supports of the wide-range attack campaign is the 39-member Organization of African Unity, which is dedicated to smashing the white-ruled governments of southern Africa. Money for guerrilla activity is channelled through its Committee of Liberation headquartered in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and current estimates place the committee's expenditures at around $1.5 million.

Whether this money and the other aid the rebels are receiving will bring them success is, of course, unknown, but right now the outlook in southern Africa is most uncertain. Both sides are digging in for prolonged conflict—and both seem to have the means and will to keep up the pressure.

Red China, while preoccupied with troubles at home, still has enough political muscle to create a foothold in Africa, as evidenced by this stadium under construction in Zanzibar.

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Yevtushenko: Prostitute Poet

From the Arizona *Republic*

Literature plays an important role in our country, helping the party to educate the people correctly, to instill in them advanced, progressive ideas by which our party is guided. And it is not without reason that writers in our country are called engineers of the human soul.

—Nikita S. Khrushchev, Nov. 14, 1957

When Russian poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko was recently nominated by students as a candidate for election as professor of poetry at Oxford University, he readily accepted.

Financially, it isn't much: $720 a year for three lectures each of five years. But it is a prestigious post, as

Soviet poet Yevtushenko has so far managed to curry favor with his Red bosses and many Western "intellectuals" at the same time.

Yevtushenko—and his masters—were quick to discern.

Unfortunately for Yevtushenko, he finished third in the balloting. But he might well have won had not several British novelists, journalists and scholars unmasked the Russian "rebel" as a propagandist for the Kremlin.

Novelist Kingsley Amis noted that Yevtushenko had regularly denounced Soviet writers—including Yuli Daniel and Andrei Sinyavsky—who even now are languishing in Russian jails and asylums for daring to speak out.

Daily Mail columnist Bernard Levin, who called Yevtushenko a "party hack pathetically parading as something better," noted that the poet had denounced the novel *Dr. Zhivago* and had refused to join other Soviet intellectuals in protesting suppression of writers.

(In fact, Yevtushenko joined with other Russian writers briefly in 1963 to demand intellectual and artistic freedom. But when Khrushchev cracked the whip, he was one of only two writers who recanted.)

And Tibor Szamuely, a Hungarian-born scholar, said in the *Spectator* that the Russian poet is "a hack propagandist of the Soviet regime, defending its atrocities, attacking its enemies, indefatigably traveling round the world on its behalf."

Yevtushenko has been canonized in certain quarters in the West because he affects the style of a jet-set swinger, and for his 1961 poem "Babi Yar" which criticized Soviet resistance to the erection of a monument to thousands of Jews shot by Nazis in 1941.

Yet when the regime forced him to introduce into "Babi Yar" a Ukrainian martyr heroine murdered by the Nazis while attempting to save a Jew, he obediently did so. And when the ailing Jewish poet Josip Brodsky was sent to a hard-labor camp near the Arctic Circle, despite having tuberculosis, Yevtushenko's name was conspicuously absent from the letters and petitions signed by Russian intellectuals protesting the barbaric treatment.

In truth, Yevtushenko is the Ilya Ehrenburg of his day: The regime's official spokesman, the person who can be depended upon to defend communism abroad while his colleagues suffer in political prisons at home.

He is the only one of the approximately 3,000 members of the Union of Soviet Writers who regularly obtains a passport and is allowed to travel alone.

He is the darling of the most reactionary, oppressive officials in Soviet Russia, who know that he can be depended upon—not to tell it like it is (which is what his Western devotees mistakenly believe he does), but to tell it as the Kremlin wishes it to be told.

Leopold Tyrmand, formerly a novelist in Communist Poland, several months ago wrote in the *Reporter* that Yevtushenko understands the government's game of containment by accommodation—the granting of limited concessions to writers in return for unlimited obedience.

Therefore, while he "boldly" rebels in fancy watering holes around the world, other Russian artists languish in Siberian concentration camps. And they hold him in contempt as a partner of their jailers.

Yevtushenko, wrote Tyrmand, has "come to represent captivity, decked out like an aging whore with the cosmetics of freedom applied with such tastelessness that his true nature is not hidden but proclaimed . . . [He is] an incongruous hybrid, a monster whose pseudo-moralistic incantations serve only to divert attention from the infinite monstrosity of the cause he serves."

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Labor Cases to Court

From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

The U.S. Supreme Court has agreed to hear arguments on two controversial labor cases.

No. 1 is the National Labor Relations Board's decision in the Wisconsin Motor Corp. case that allows the United Auto Workers Union to fine UAW members who exceed a union-imposed production quota.

No. 2 is an NLRB decision that requires employers to furnish names and addresses to a union that is trying to organize the employer's employes.

In the Wisconsin Motor Corp. case the NLRB upheld a UAW action which calls for a fine on any UAW member that exceeded a union set production quota. In plain words, the NLRB decision means management must transfer any and all production arrangements to a labor union decision.

Since 1966 the NLRB has been requiring employers to give names and addresses of employes to any labor union that is trying to unionize his employes.

There is no question that this NLRB ruling has been a great assistance to labor unions in their organizing efforts. It eliminates a lot of organizing spade work. It reduces soliciting workers outside of plant gates and allows union organizers to canvass workers at their homes or to directly plaster them with pro-union propaganda.

BOOK NOTES

A Book-By-Mail Service For HUMAN EVENTS Readers

That we take note of a book here does not necessarily mean we fully endorse it nor even that it is written from a conservative viewpoint. It means merely that we regard it as one which may have an impact on political thinking, and accordingly may be of interest to our readers.

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GREATNESS TO SPARE by T. R. Fehrenbach (Van Nostrand, 247 pages, $5.95)

"This is a history of the Declaration of Independence with a difference; it's a study . . . centering on the truly gutsy Americans who laid everything on the line when they put their John Hancocks at the bottom of the revolutionary document that told George III just what time it was in the Colonies. With the exception of Sam Adams of Massachusetts, the signers were all men of wealth and property—doctors, lawyers, gentlemen farmers who had everything to lose personally, except honor, if the American Revolution failed. Fehrenbach follows the lives of the signers during the seven years immediately after the ringing of the Liberty Bell; many lost their homes, fled to escape imprisonment, saw relatives persecuted in England, even in many cases lived out their lives under the burden of crushing debts. Unfortunately 56 signers done in profile make a sprawling book; but it's well written, fresh and genuinely interesting, for the general reader and the student alike."—From **Publisher's Weekly**

WAR, PEACE AND THE PRESIDENCY by Henry Paolucci (McGraw-Hill, 241 pages, $6.95)

"Prof. Henry Paolucci's new book . . . argues that it is not too late to recapture an understanding of basic ideas that made this nation great. He reminds us of Walter Bagehot's warning that the survival of a society depends on the establishment of a strong cooperative bond. Otherwise, Bagehot said, 'it will be conquered and killed out by some other society which has such a bond.' . . .

"Paolucci believes that the pervasiveness of the conviction that national sentiment and national interests must be played down explains the paradoxical behavior of the American intelligentsia. For example, there is a tendency to condone or at least tolerate activities in our cities and on our campuses which threaten to destroy our social fabric. Paolucci notes that when Aquileia was burned to the ground and Rome was sacked by barbarian hordes in the 5th Century there were few who looked upon those events as signs of better days to come. But today, he says, there are some among us who welcome local chaos as the best harbinger of universal order. . . ."—By Reed J. Irvine in the Washington **Star**

HOUSE DIVIDED: The Life and Legacy of Martin Luther King by Lionel Lokos (Arlington House, 567 pages, $6.95)

"Compared to the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the Pied Piper of Hamelin was a piker. The medieval character led only a few hundred children to disappearance into a mountain, whereas his 20th Century counterpart led astray tens of millions of Americans with his siren song of brotherly love and non-violence leading to the gutting and incineration of many areas in numerous cities of the United States.

"According to this excellent, forthright and impeccably documented study of a man who parlayed a sort of Gandhian fraternity and affection into a hurricane of hatred, there was ample evidence from the beginning of his career that there was a great deal of Communist content, if not outright commitment, in King's activities. . . .

"This book is more than a justified indictment of King. It strafes a scared, incompetent, gutless officialdom and a demoralized intellectual community: a generation of vipers which made it all possible."—By George Schuyler in **America's Future**

RED SPIES IN WASHINGTON by George Carpozi Jr. (Trident Press, 252 pages, $4.95)

"'The Soviet Union appropriates an estimated $2 billion in the annual budget for intelligence apparatus aimed at the United States alone—and the work must be carried out regardless of any entente cordiale that might exist from time to time between the two nations.'

"Thus Mr. Carpozi, an experienced journalist, sets the stage for an intriguing and revealing series of in-depth sketches of how agents of the 'mellowing' Russian Communists operate inside some of the most strategic departments of our government. . . .

"The most encouraging thing about Mr. Carpozi's book is that his cases are all from official records—particularly, and insofar as they could be revealed, from the files of the much-maligned FBI. Equally encouraging are the numbers of Americans whom the Russians attempted to ensnare in their spy net who went immediately to the FBI and then agreed to serve as double agents so that the FBI could get the goods on the Russian agents who operated mostly out of the Soviet Embassy in Washington. However, there are also stories here of Americans ensnared by the Reds who did **not** go to the FBI."—By Rosalie Gordon in **America's Future**

THE MINUTEMEN by J. Harry Jones Jr. (Doubleday, 426 pages, $6.95)

" . . . gives an account of the extreme right-wing organization that believes this country is even now in the hands of Communist conspirators. The author, a reporter for the Kansas City Star, describes Minutemen leaders, their arsenal, their espionage, their guerrilla warfare training, and their plans for a 'patriotic' rebellion."—From **Publisher's Weekly**

FOR THIS ONE HOUR by E. Lee North (William Frederick Press, 202 pages, $4.95)

Arthur Bliss Lane and others have documented Poland's horrible tribulations over the past three decades. Ravaged by the Nazis and betrayed by a sick and dying Roosevelt, the spirit of the valiant Polish people remained unconquered.

This first novel by E. Lee North is a dramatic and compelling tale of those black years when a valiant people sought to assert that independence for which the Second World War was presumably waged.

This haunting reminder of the uncivilized brutality by which this area of Eastern Europe was brought to its knees by the Soviet Union might hold valuable lessons for today's apostles of detente.

AMERICA, I-LOVE-YOU by Ralph de Toledano (National Press, 324 pages, $7.50)

"Ralph de Toledano . . . knows how to demolish a target, whether it be Walter Reuther, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., the ACLU, Henry Cabot Lodge, the proposed National Data Bank, or the anti-Rhodesia ideologues. Robert Strange McNamara gets—and deserves—dissection in eight of the selections in these pages. But the author of 'Spies, Dupes and Diplomats' is at his best when writing about spies, dupes and diplomats, and there is enough of that here to tease you into discovering or re-discovering those earlier Toledano spy volumes. . . ."—By D. Franke in **National Review**

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Labor Leaders Are Worried About New Attorney General

By VICTOR RIESEL

Many a construction union chief had a special interest in Richard Nixon's Cabinet-making. Fact is, they had plenty of fellow worriers, and not because the labor leaders were particularly fascinated by the name game involving the secretary of labor.

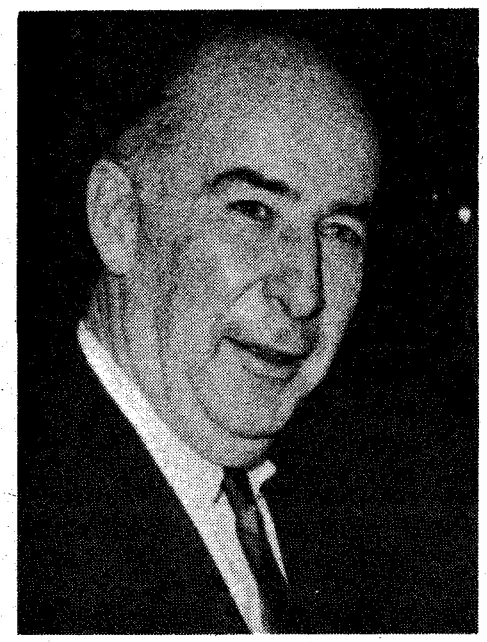
Labor could live with this department even if it were headed by Genghis Khan or Emperor Caligula. It is the movement's thing.

It's the Department of Justice which worries them. If Nixon's attorney general, John Mitchell, gets tough, he can cripple labor politically, industrially, financially. Such are the laws that, if "the A.G." prosecutes them at election time, he can tie up their funds for the duration. If he goes after them on the construction front, he can paralyze a network of 18 unions which, with 3.8-million members, are the power structure of the AFL-CIO.

If he interprets the antitrust laws literally, he can weaken the unions in tens of thousands of union contract negotiations.

If he ignores what has become standard operating procedure, he can harass even the most pristine of unions, which are the ideological establishment inside labor.

But most vital of all the whirlwinds he can unleash upon the heads of national labor is a cold front atmosphere. In the late '40s, this was whipped up by a series of tough national strikes. Then came the reaction, public anger—



Enforcing anti-trust laws is one way new Atty. Gen. John Mitchell could make trouble for Big Labor.

and the Taft-Hartley Act (originally debated by two young congressmen, Jack Kennedy and Richard Nixon, for some of us young reporters).

In the late '50s, the storm came out of Sen. McClellan's racket-probing select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field. So tough was its chief counsel, Bob Kennedy, that it saved its exposures for prime television time—and then came the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act. This some labor leaders dubbed the "Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Law."

This was in '59. Dick Nixon will take office just under the deadline for the soaring '60s. Many of those who supported him when so many others turned their backs (or worse, faced and reviled him) now seek strong labor- and strike-curbing laws, acts to end national bargaining, labor courts to replace the National Labor Relations Board, expansion of the right-to-work laws which ban the union shop and retention of the ban on secondary boycotts.

Only if the public is again aroused by a series of chain reaction exposures can labor's critics meet their self-imposed 1970 deadline for a tough law in every decade.

It would not be difficult to alarm the people. Strikes will roll. Union after union is reaching the million mark. The Teamsters now report a membership of 2,012,480—an awesome total revealed by the Brotherhood's leader, Frank Fitzsimmons, standing in for the imprisoned president, Jimmy Hoffa.

Soon enough, the Justice Department's probes of some construction unions will become national news.

Elders of the movement's highest council can do little about their tough young muscle down below, though the Justice Department's Organized Crime and Racketeering Section and the FBI are scalpeling deep into building and construction trades union scandals across the land.

Within the past few months, for example, the government has indicted Guido Iozzi, head of the Baltimore Building and Construction Trades Council, on six charges of violating the Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Act.

Another construction union council chief who resigned and was then indicted is James O'Neill of Philadelphia. He allegedly violated the Taft-Hartley Act. Other probes are digging into the plumbers, laborers and operating engineers.

Will all this escalate, labor leaders ask, as they gather in Washington for their Executive Council session. Will they be hit by the rotten-apple theory of history? Will the "new" Justice Department permit wiretapping, now restricted, on President Johnson's personal orders, solely to investigations of national security (for three years now)?

Will the Criminal Division's "labor desk," headed by a Charles (Chuck) Ruff, be beefed up?

"If this happens, we're dead," philosophized one waterfront union leader. "The good will be swept along with the bad. Who worries about the Labor Department? The Justice crowd can kill us."

Happens to be true.

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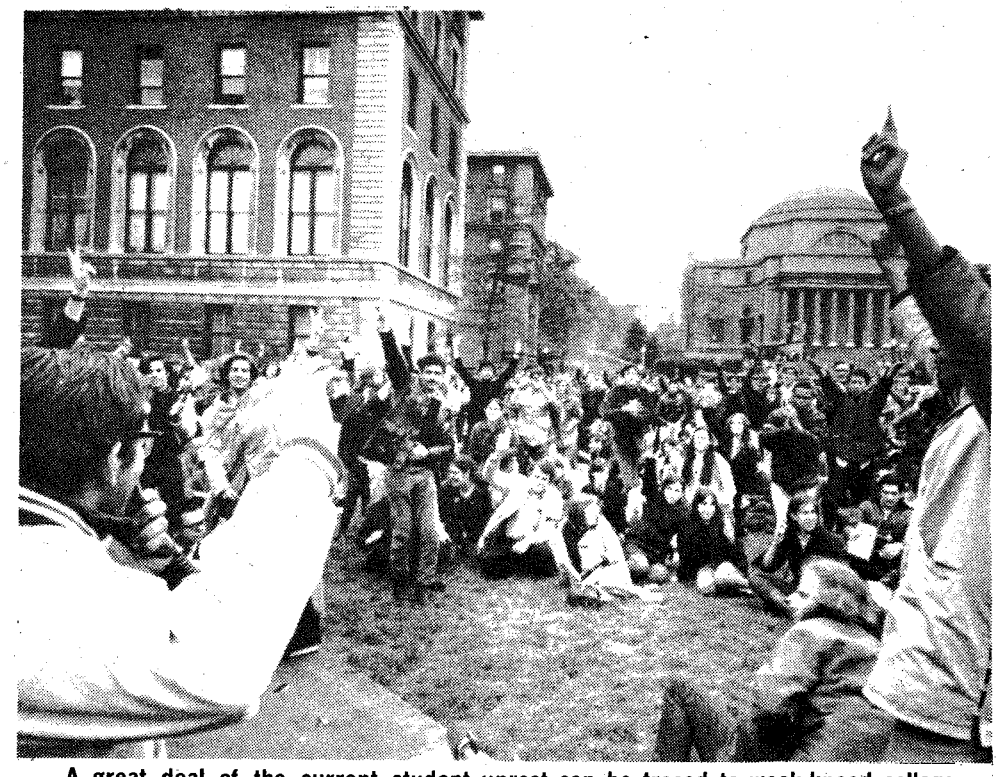
BAD PACT—"The nonproliferation treaty . . . involves no sacrifice whatever for the Soviet Union, which would not give nuclear know-how to any of its satellites. Imagine Czechoslovakia in possession of such a deterrent! On the other hand, it is quite conceivable that the United States might wish to see nuclear arms in the hands of such European allies as Germany and Italy, preferably in the form of a general European nuclear establishment. . . . Let us hope that Sen. Goldwater and other good nationalists will subject this treaty to deserved critical analysis when it comes before the Senate for discussion."—William Henry Chamberlin in a letter to the Chicago *Tribune*



A great deal of the current student unrest can be traced to weak-kneed college administrations that approve actions for which most students would have been unceremoniously thrown out of school a decade ago.

'A Taste of Flames'

For those who wonder from time to time why the anti-American, anti-capitalist ideas of such far-out groups as Students for a Democratic Society seem to be gaining such acceptance among American college students, the following excerpts from the Harvard Alumni Bulletin *might prove interesting. This report appeared in the Dec. 2, 1968,* Bulletin *under the heading "A Taste of the Flames":*

Harvard has long held the position that its courses were substantively objective, and were taught by men and women who scrubbed from their remarks any taint of political or ideological bias. Reasonably or not, parents and other well-wishers could assure themselves that within Harvard's walls, no one with official status was poisoning the minds of the young with contentious doctrine. The point, of course, has often been disputed, and there have been many at Harvard who felt that avowedly slanted courses could have honest merit; that because the world is to a remarkable extent an inflammatory place, thoughtful students could scarcely prepare for life in it without a taste of the flame.

The old position is breaking down.

The Committee on General Education approved in October a radical course on the American economy, to be given in the spring. The new Social Sciences course, called "The American Economy: Conflict and Power," will cover three major topics: the role of power in determining the structure of the American economy, income distribution, and America's economic relations with underdeveloped countries.

Arthur MacEwan, instructor in economics and administrative head of the new course, says its 10 section men "all have a radical perspective on economic issues. There are at least one or two section men who would call themselves Marxists, and another few who would call themselves Marxish, but on the whole we're a diverse radical group."

The course will not be primarily about ideas, but rather about specific problems, examined with a radical view. Topics will include the Mississippi Delta region, the international oil industry, United States involvement in the Caribbean, and the role of education in income distribution.

Two other avowedly radical courses appeared in the curriculum at the beginning of the fall term. Social Relations 148, "Social Change in America," addresses itself to such issues as Race, Labor, Imperialism and Radical Theory.

An outgrowth of "Critiques of American Society," a course given last year at MIT, Soc Rel 148 was organized during the summer by members of Students for a Democratic Society. A half-dozen of its 20-odd section men are undergraduates; because the staff wants to play down grading, there will be no final exam. Instead the 287 students in Soc Rel 148 will be rated on the basis of papers and classroom performance, says Assistant Professor Thomas J. Cottle, sponsor of the course. Mr. Cottle says he considers the course a solid success: "The students are excited, and are talking about important things."

Social Relations 136, "Workshops on the University," is the other radical course this fall. At its inception, Assistant Professor William G. Spady said its sections would question the value system inherent in all university decisions, from an openly radical viewpoint. About 30 students are participating.

Another new course has been under fire for *not* reflecting a special perspective. Almost since it began, Social Sciences 5 ("The Afro-American Experience") has been the target of militant black students who say the course does not reflect the black point of view. In late October a freshman took over the rostrum to denounce the course and its chief lecturer, Prof. Frank B. Freidel Jr., and an Ad Hoc Committee of Black Students is now preparing a critique of the course. Of the 200 students enrolled, approximately a quarter are Negroes. In a letter to the *Crimson*, Assistant Professor Martin L. Kilson Jr., a lecturer in the course, called its critics "racially bigoted and disgustingly anti-intellectual." Mr. Kilson, a Negro, added: "Blissfully unaware that their bigoted and paranoid outlook makes a shambles of scholarship and learning, the black critics . . . seek to reduce the course to a platform for Black Nationalist propaganda."

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MARK RUDD, the self-proclaimed revolutionary who sparked the Columbia University riots of last spring, was reported by security officials to be active again recently. Rudd and several other leaders of the Students for a Democratic Society were seen agitating junior high school students in New York to carry out violent demonstrations.

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Re-Examining Our Mid-East Position

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

When observer William W. Scranton urged a "more even-handed" Middle East policy, on reporting to President-elect Richard M. Nixon, he took a courageous position.

Very understandably, in many circles of American Jewry the subject of Israel is so charged with emotion and justifiable anguish as to be impervious to argument or, indeed, to the facts.

But sometime some U.S. President will have to review the entire American Middle East policy. He will have to consider specifically whether the cost to the U.S. of its unbalanced support for Israel is wise and whether this imbalance is worth the economic and political losses in the Arab world along with other Islamic countries in Africa and east to Pakistan.

I have reported often from this agonizing area, and across the years. We persistently misconstrue Arab-Jew relations. Instead of our impression of ancient mutual hatred, how many know, for example, that traditionally any child —Jew or Arab—born in the same week as another became automatically a foster-brother or sister of that other child? After all, the Arabs traditionally consider Ishmael their ancestor; the Jews, Isaac—and both were sons of Abraham.

On the whole the Palestine Arabs and Jews have lived together peacefully and successfully in the Mideast for centuries, and for long years as allies held together by their mutual hatred for their British masters.

As a booty of World War I Britain seized Palestine under the Balfour Declaration, obtained a League of Nations mandate, and set up shop to enhance Britain's commercial and strategic interests. This violated every pledge England gave the Arabs to gain their wartime help against the Turks.

Former Pennsylvania Gov. William Scranton, President-elect Nixon's special envoy to the Middle East, confers with Nixon on his return from the area.

The influx of European Jews and the eviction of the Arabs began. The 92 per cent Arab, 8 per cent Jewish population changed to 65 per cent Arab, 35 per cent Jewish by the time Britain surrendered the Palestine mandate to the United Nations after World War II.

Today a further changed, and largely unknown, composition exists. The Oriental or so-called Arab Jews in Israel now outnumber the European Jews. The change is due to a new influx of Jews from North Africa combined with a significant "driftback" of European Jews to Europe.

Britain constructed the postwar Arab League in 1945, partly to protect her own interests in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, but this failed and the Anglo-American support of Israel carried the Arab animosity against Westerns into an animosity and fear of Israel as well.

In Arab eyes this new state is a Western outpost created and supported to serve Western purposes, even though the Arabs are unfair in many of their accusations against Israel. They refuse to see Israel as anything but an aggressor and persistently quote a sometimes stated Zionist aspiration that does call for Israel's expansion to the "historic boundaries" under King David and Solomon. This would mean from the Nile to the Euphrates.

Then every Arab suspicion was confirmed in 1948 when Israel increased her territory in the Palestine war by 3,000 square miles more than the United Nations resolution of Nov. 29, 1947, gave her.

The Soviet Union has been building its position in the Middle East ever since the mid-1950s, when Moscow began giving arms to Egypt. We have tried to maintain some leverage and our traditional contact on the Arab side, but the U.S. imbalance is undeniably on the Israeli side.

The key problem since Israel's great 1967 six-day victory really lies in the confrontation between the USSR and Israel and the intense Cold War Moscow is promoting. Since the Soviet wants to maintain and strengthen the Arab bloc, the Kremlin consistently plays us off as an Arab enemy, via Israel. It's all water on the wheel of the Soviets' expanding interests in the Mediterranean, including the achievement of NATO-flanking bases.

Any sponsorship of a "more even-handed" Mideast policy by the U.S. should not be hollered down. Wisely, Israeli hero Gen. Moshe Dayan, the defense minister, in his December 13 talk with Mr. Nixon, did not do so. It is totally dangerous to the American interest (which should be the prime interest) to take a simplistic, single-sided view of what is an exceedingly complex problem that calls for light, not heat, if there is to be any hope of solution.

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Labor Laws and Inflation

By HENRY HAZLITT

President Johnson sincerely seems to believe that the only way to keep full employment and economic growth is for the government to keep inflating a little all the time. He sincerely seems to believe that a budget surplus is always a very dangerous thing, and that a chronic budget deficit of at least some substantial size is necessary to prevent depression.

In his budget message in January 1967, Mr. Johnson advocated an administrative deficit for the fiscal year 1968 of more than $8 billion and a cash deficit of more than $4 billion. He declared: "To seek a *lower* deficit or a surplus through a more restrictive fiscal program would be unwarranted and self-defeating."

Early this month he made this belief even plainer by warning President-elect Nixon not to try to end inflation so swiftly that he risks bringing on a recession. "If we lose patience and demand a sudden slowdown in prices and wage costs," he said, "we will court recession. I hope my successor will use the tools of economic policy forcefully. I hope he will insist on using them to guarantee full employment."

Mr. Johnson, unfortunately, is not alone in his belief that in order to keep prosperity and employment going it is advisable to keep at least some inflation going all the time. Even most of the government economists who do not specifically believe this seem to believe that day-to-day bureaucratic interference in the economy, with at least occasional measured doses of inflation, is necessary in order to keep "fine-tuning" the economy.

The irony is that most of the self-confident would-be economy-tuners do not even know how their recommended gadgets work. They advocated a tax increase and got it. But now they express surprise that it has not slowed down the inflation as much as they expected. They entirely overlooked that the tax increase was not an isolated event—that it has been more than offset by increased government spending and by a scandalous increase in the money supply.

At the end of last June the government had run a tremendous deficit for the fiscal year of more than $25 billion. The cash deficit so far in the new fiscal year has been about $11 billion. This doesn't look as if there is any immediate danger of "a sudden slowdown."

The only plausible argument for chronic deficits and a chronic inflationary increase in the money supply is that they are necessary to raise prices enough to allow industry to pay constantly rising wage costs. But the real problem is our existing labor laws, which build up bargaining strength and make it practically impossible for employers successfully to resist strike threats and increasingly exorbitant wage demands.

Not until our politicians get the courage to tackle this underlying problem will the excuse for inflation be removed. Not until this excuse is removed is inflation likely to be stopped.

Meanwhile, the country faces the prospect of a continued race between the demands of the unions and the money-printing presses.

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Could Easily Be Copied Elsewhere

Inspiring New Plan for Using Grandparents in Our Schools

By PAUL HARVEY

"Professional grandparents" are enjoying productive new careers in 160 different schools across the United States. Let me tell you how the program works in one of those schools—the State School for Retarded Children, Denton, Tex.

Grandmothers and grandfathers living in the area are employed four hours each day at $1.60 an hour. They are brought by school bus from all over Cooke County, from as far as 35 miles away.

At the school, after proper training and preparation, each "foster grandparent" is assigned two children. He attends these children one at a time; thus each child can advance at his own speed. Together the youngster and his foster grandparent may read, go for walks, work puzzles or just sit and talk.

The minimal wage augments Social Security or other pension benefits. But more important are the "fringe benefits." This is an opportunity for continued usefulness. The "need to be needed" is no less at any age. So often, if retirement means sitting in a rocking chair looking at the wallpaper, it hastens advancing senility.

The 93 grandparents, ages 60 to 83, presently employed at the Denton school are so enthused about their new careers that they ignore their ills, often concealing any indisposition, because they don't want to miss their shift: "I don't want to disappoint my youngsters."

Among the foster grandparents there is almost no tardiness, absenteeism or turnover. Indeed, most of the grandparents report their health improved by the increased activity and exercise—

ROY HAMRIC—DENTON (TEX.) RECORD-CHRONICLE

Senior citizens have derived a great deal of satisfaction from helping retarded youngsters. The program has been remarkably successful throughout the nation at places like Denton, Tex.

and because they again have what we all need: a reason to get up in the morning.

For the grandparents, the bus ride and the midmorning coffee break provide opportunities for socializing (one pair of grandparents became engaged and were married by the school's chaplain).

For the youngsters, the benefits of companionship are incalculable. Most of these mentally deprived children had no opportunity to know their own real grandparents. Now they get that close human relationship which they missed.

Together, they plan ahead for parties weeks in advance of each seasonal holiday.

Achievements of the children since this program was instituted three years ago have exceeded the most optimistic expectations.

Most of the 160 institutions where the foster grandparents program is in effect are schools for retarded children under the age of 16. They receive co-operative federal-state financing. Probably nowhere have so few tax dollars bought so much for so many.

Universally, unanimously, the schools involved report the program a success. Each cites measurable benefits for the children and for their grandparent companions. Also, of course, the schools' regular staffs are thus released to spend more time on essential administration, supervision, teaching.

Meanwhile, the youngsters are demonstrating a greater degree of sociability, an increased span of interests, improved eye and hand co-ordination.

And staff doctors shake their heads in appreciative amazement for what love can do.

(Copyright 1968, General Features Corp.)

Report from London

Hypocritical Policies Hurt Biafrans

By ANTHONY LEJEUNE in the Dallas *Morning News*

London:—A recent Gallup poll in several continental European countries showed that 42 per cent felt most strongly about Biafra, 31 per cent about Czechoslovakia and 17 per cent about Viet Nam.

Indignation over Britain's continued support for the Federal Nigerian government has sparked anti-British demonstrations in West Germany, Switzerland, Holland and Scandinavia. A British trade week in Basle had to be canceled because of the strength of feeling.

But the British public hasn't even noticed. So much for the effectiveness of demonstrations.

A comparable opinion poll in Britain would almost certainly find an exactly opposite scale of concern—Viet Nam first, then Czechoslovakia, and Biafra last. This may seem odd, since Britain can do nothing about Viet Nam or Czechoslovakia, whereas the Biafrans are being killed mainly with British weapons.

But Viet Nam has been the focus of a highly skilled, worldwide propaganda and agitation campaign. Czechoslovakia is (though, as time passes, it may cease to be) a fashionable cause among trendy liberals.

The Biafrans are unfashionable. They have no Communist propaganda machine supporting them. They are blacks being oppressed by other blacks; and it is quite evident by now that liberals are not much interested in the oppression of Africans or Asians unless they can satisfy their own masochistic consciences by pointing at a white villain.

A small number of people in Britain, some of them liberals, some conservatives (for this is not an issue which falls into any neat ideological pattern), do care passionately about Biafra. They have no words bad enough for the British government's behavior.

To do the government justice, its refusal to stop the supply of arms isn't the result of greed or callousness. It is simply the culmination of an ill-considered policy, or of a drifting lack of policy, which has turned out badly. And in an attempt to find excuses, the government has indeed been reduced to hypocrisy and what Churchill called "terminological inexactitudes."

The chief excuse is that, if Britain did stop supplying arms, she would lose all chance to exercise a restraining influence on the Nigerians.

Unfortunately, it becomes plainer every day that the Nigerians have no intention of being restrained by anyone, and that Britain has virtually no influence in Lagos now.

But to stop the supply of British arms, the government says, wouldn't stop the war; the Nigerians would simply buy their weapons elsewhere. Quite true; but Britain would be relieved of direct complicity in an affair which may yet become even more horrific than it is today.

One may rationally believe that it would be better if the Biafrans now surrendered. One can hardly believe rationally that they are likely to do so.

Reliable estimates calculate that some 200,000 Ibos died in October, and about 300,000 in November. The number will probably double in December, and go still higher in January and February when the yam supplies start to run out.

Private relief missions, running the gauntlet of Nigerian fire and bedeviled by their own squabbles, cannot possibly cope.

Meanwhile, the civilized world stands by and does nothing. So, of course, does the United Nations. No one would dream of interfering with the sacred right of black Africans to slaughter each other.

But suppose that Ian Smith's government had surrounded six million rebellious black Rhodesians and was starving them to death. The howl of fury from the United Nations, the demands for immediate intervention, would echo from here to the moon.

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Commentators Who Think They Should Be President

By WILLIAM RENTSCHLER

Some of the nation's foremost newspaper pundits and TV commentators are acting sulky and snappish these days.

Upper-crust stalwarts like CBS' Olympian Eric Sevareid, syndicated muckraker Drew Pearson, and the New York *Times*' smooth, erudite James Reston, show signs of strain.

None of these eminent oracles (to my knowledge) has wife trouble, contract woes, or an infestation of tapeworm.

Yet the dark dour mood that grips each is perfectly understandable.

Each, in his own way, has developed a magnificent obsession: each is convinced, deep in the inky recesses of his mind, that he is clearly, indisputably better qualified to be President of the United States than those blokes the people persist in electing.

Perhaps their thinking goes something like this: If it weren't for the party hacks and political IOUs, the outdated requirements of geographical balance and the sinister antics of Madison Avenue, if the decision were left simply to the objective omniscience of the computer, if the sole basis for judgment was the candidate's sheer, unadulterated brilliance, irrefutable logic, matchless wit, style and compassion, why, there wouldn't be a doubt in the world, it couldn't be anybody but Eric or Drew or Scotty Reston for President.

Sevareid—you can tell this if you watch him closely—clearly nurses the notion that he ought to be President. Strictly on merit, you understand. Or emperor, if circumstances change. Any movie director worth his salt would surely cast Eric for the role. He would look more noble than usual in toga or ermine robes. And he certainly sounds more presidential, especially in Boston or Chevy Chase, than that abominable fellow with the wretched drawl.

At a party in Chicago shortly after the election, Sevareid was introduced to the wife of a campaign aide who had contributed to Richard Nixon's victory in Illinois. Grandly, with ice in voice and eye, Sevareid bowled her over with: "You don't mean to tell me your husband is proud of what he's done?"

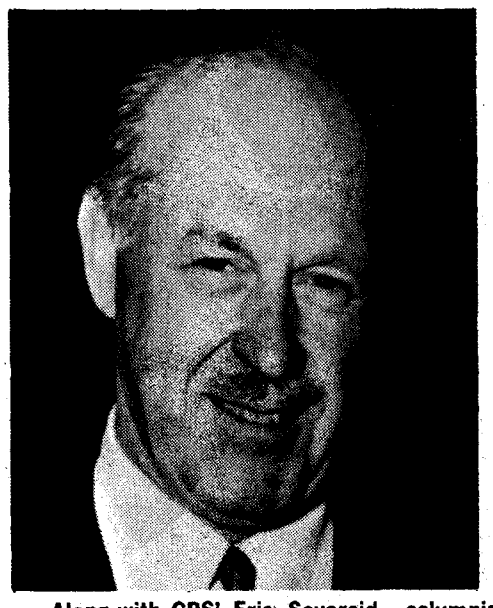
It is not easy for a man like Sevareid to accept as President a Johnson or Nixon when a Sevareid—better, bolder, brainier—is waiting in the wings.

Then there is Pearson: a sort of latter-day Franklin D. Roosevelt without portfolio. A dapper country squire. A gracious charmer with sharply honed hatchet. The Pearson technique (now that he is past 70 and, presumably, scratched from the presidential sweepstakes) is to elevate himself to presidential stature by exposing human frailty and thus reducing to shrunken status the high and mighty of the political realm.

His lavish innuendoes and nasty backbiting, as in his sly, insinuating charge that President-elect Nixon consulted a psychiatrist some years ago, are invariably cloaked in the mantle of nobility, as though "President" Pearson's sole objective is to save the Republic.

Few on this earth bear disappointment more becomingly than James Reston, the New York *Times* columnist-editor who knows in his heart he was meant to be President.

His columns reverberate with the sort of pronouncements normally reserved for and issued by Presidents. Reston tells Presidents what they must do, and they ignore his pearls at their peril. In the days following the election, for example, Reston set forth in unmistakable terms



Along with CBS' Eric Sevareid, columnists Drew Pearson (left) and the New York Times' James Reston have highly opinionated views on the presidency.

the nature of the Cabinet which President-elect Nixon must appoint.

Reston called for "a strong national Cabinet" which would not be "studded with attractive and obedient dubs." To satisfy Reston, this would require a Nixon Cabinet largely devoid of Nixon-type Republicans.

"It is too late," warned Reston, "for a Cabinet of powerful pygmies. Sooner or later the sawdust runs out of them, and everybody sees it."

The message is clear: the sawdust would never run out of a Reston Cabinet, much less out of a Reston, and, "Listen here, Dick Nixon, if you don't do what I tell you, the New York *Times*'ll give you fits."

It's tough to be as damnably well-qualified as Sevareid, Pearson, or Reston and yet be forced to earn a buck by talking and writing, writing and talking when you might instead be remaking the world, shaping up this troubled land, and letting in the sun at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

A pity, that's what it is.

□□□

BUREAU OF THE DEBT—"There is—yes, believe it or not, there really *is*—a Bureau of the Public Debt; an entity of the federal government. And, like the mountain of which it is the bureau in charge of keeping track, it is growing. It is a unit, of course, of the Treasury. It has a commissioner, sub-commissioners, et al., and scattered offices, as far from Washington as Chicago. The budget for operating it runs in the neighborhood of $50 million annually—with approximately a third of that paying the salaries of its nearly 3,000 employes. It takes a lot of people to keep track of the encumbrance, and handle the disbursements relating to interest costs now running in excess of $15 billion per year. It sure costs a lot of money to own and operate a debt, even when you don't act to retire it even by one thin dime."—From the Nashville *Banner*

School Prayer Is Not Lawful —But Religious Teaching Is

By RUSSELL KIRK

According to the Warren Court, if some children don't wish to pray in public school, nobody must be permitted to pray there. There's no doubt that the Supreme Court has forbidden school prayers—though some school districts simply ignore the ruling—but it remains possible to restore such prayers through any one of three means:

1. A constitutional amendment, of the sort sponsored by Sen. Everett Dirksen. Could Congress be persuaded to ratify a bill submitting such an amendment to the states, prospects for its passage would be at least fair.

2. An act of Congress taking the whole subject of school prayer, religious teaching in public schools and related matters out of the jurisdiction of the federal courts. This measure would require a simple majority of both houses of Congress, and conceivably something of the sort may be introduced in next year's more conservative Congress. Such an act would restore jurisdiction over such concerns to the state courts, where it abided until Chief Justice Earl Warren and certain of his colleagues began to meddle.

3. A new and different decision on the subject by the Supreme Court. That court has fallen into the habit of reversing itself, in recent years; and President-elect Nixon may have the opportunity of altering the balance of opinion in the court by appointing new justices to vacancies that presumably will occur.

Of these possibilities, the "prayer amendment" is being intelligently publicized by Citizens for Public Prayer, a nonsectarian and nonpartisan association with offices in New England, the Middle Atlantic states and the District of Columbia. (The Washington address: c/o the Rev. Robert G. Howes, Box 74, Curley Hall, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.) As the Citizens for Public Prayer point out, the public opinion polls repeatedly have shown that a large majority of the American voters favor a prayer amendment; but bills introducing such proposals have been bottled up in congressional committees repeatedly.

"Events have clearly shown," as the CPP puts it in a recent bulletin, "that the nation needs God as never before. While there is no single act of collective reverence which can save us from ourselves, the brotherhood of prayer in our public schools was an important part of an important pattern. Restoration of the civil right of public reverence could be the first step on the way back toward that reverential America which was bequeathed to us by our fathers."

Although children in public schools may not pray today, still they can be taught much religious knowledge, quite legally. Many parents and school-board members labor under the delusion that the Supreme Court somehow also forbade all teaching about religion. True, no particular creed may be taught exclusively; yet the court went out of its way to commend the study of the history of religion, comparative religion and the like.

What sort of religious instruction may be offered in public schools, and how to go about it, is accurately detailed in a new book by James V. Panoch and David L. Barr, *Religion Goes to School: A Practical Handbook for Teachers* (Harper & Row). Much of this volume is taken up by valuable lists of audio-visual materials and books available for such instruction. Questions commonly raised by teachers are answered reliably and fully.

The authors point out, for instance, that it is quite legal to have Bible clubs in school—so long as they meet outside regular school hours. Moments of silent meditation or reverence during class hours also are lawful.

More important, perhaps, many forms of teaching about religion not only are lawful, but already are being employed at better public schools and colleges.

Sen. Everett Dirksen's constitutional amendment is one way to restore prayer to the public schools.

And the teacher can impart a spirit of reverence through his teaching and his example, without falling afoul of the courts in the least.

"The Supreme Court did not remove religion from the public schools," Panoch and Barr write. "We did. Uninformed teachers, an unconcerned public, unconscious churchmen—all have had their hand in systematically eliminating all mention of the Bible and religion from significant areas of school life."

Yet it is not too late to restore a concern in public instruction for religious understanding—now, six years after the Supreme Court's first innovating decision on this question. "It is just as unconstitutional to stop a student from praying as it is to make him pray," Panoch and Barr observe. The very fact that the courts have interfered with religious questions may make a good many students more fully aware that religion is worth thinking and talking about.

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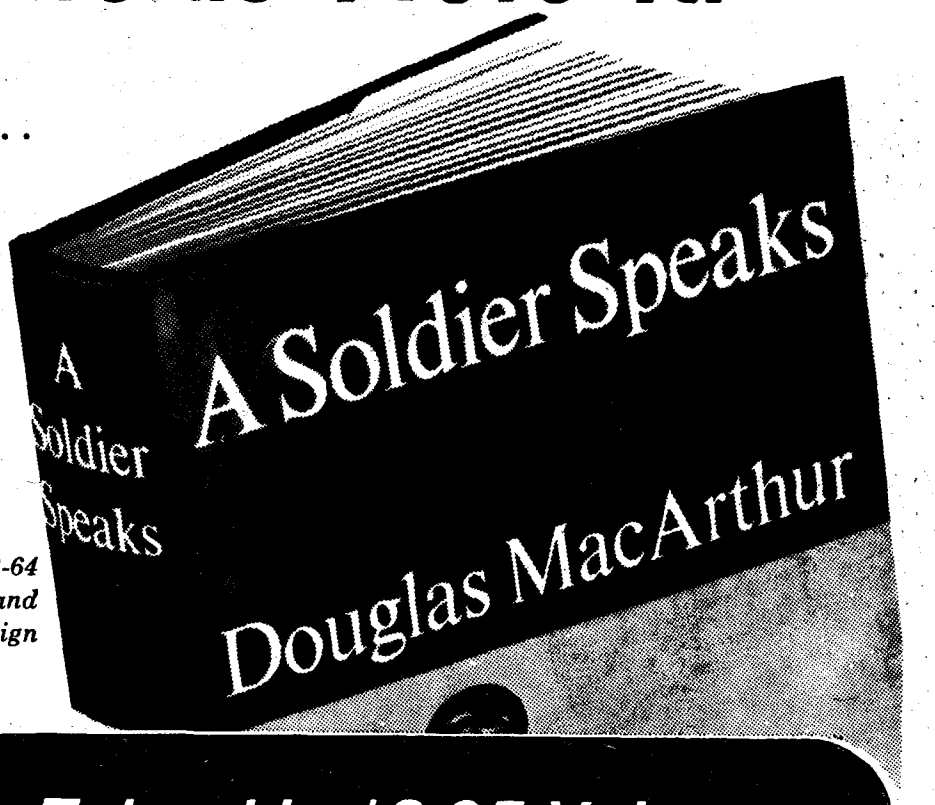

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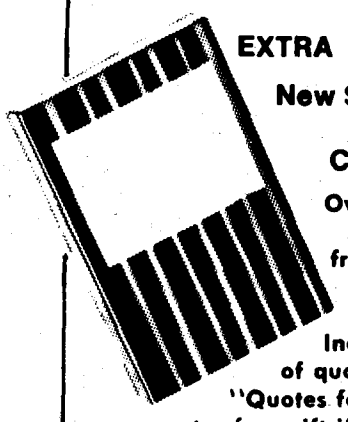

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